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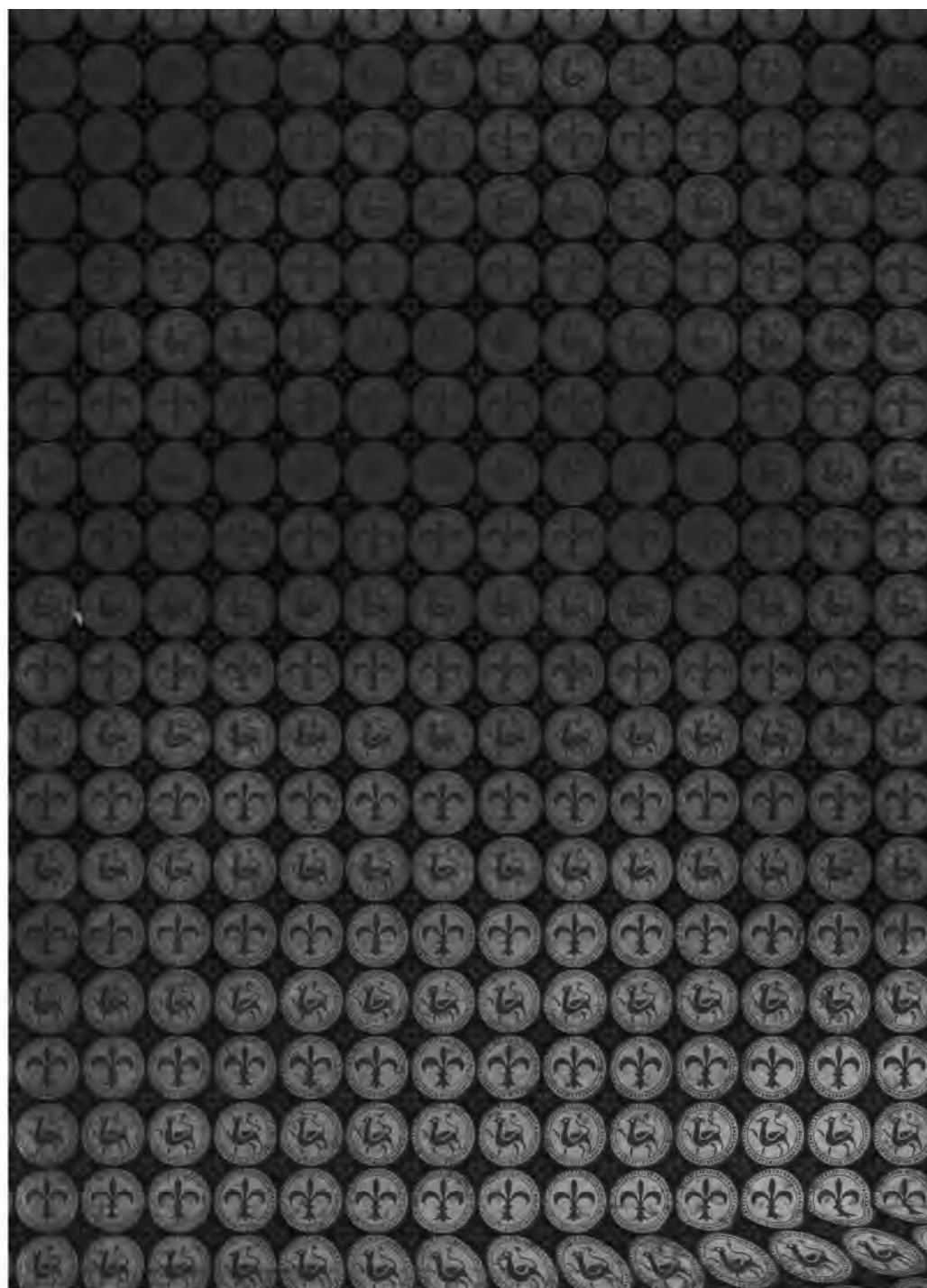
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THE PHILOBIBLON OF RICHARD DE BURY





Richard de Bury's later Episcopal Seal, containing his portrait.

See page 150.

The legend on the seal is S. RICARDI DEI GRA DVNELMENSIS EPI.

Aungerville, Richard

THE PHILOBIBLON OF RICHARD DE BURY

EDITED FROM THE BEST MANUSCRIPTS
AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH WITH
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
• ANDREW FLEMING WEST •
PROFESSOR IN PRINCETON COLLEGE

• • PART THIRD • •
INTRODUCTORY MATTER AND NOTES



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Preface



ABOUT three years ago I accepted an invitation from the Grolier Club of New-York to edit the *Philobiblon*. The hopelessly corrupted Latin text of the printed editions and the necessarily faulty translations based upon it, as well as the crude character of the interpretation which had gathered about it, rendered evident the need of a completely new editing if Richard de Bury's treatise was to be recovered and understood as he really wrote it.

In following out this purpose I have tried to keep four things steadily in view. First, and fundamental to all the rest, was the extraction of the true text from the best existing manuscripts; next, the translation of the treatise into English in such a way as to carry over all of the style and spirit of the original that would bear transportation; third, the interpretation of the treatise wherever explanation was needed; and fourth, a sufficient account of its author and his time to give the due historical setting.

Preface.

The first volume of this edition, accordingly, contains the Latin text and the second the English version. The third volume contains explanatory notes and a sketch of Richard de Bury, including his life and times and an estimate of his book. It also contains the history of the printed and manuscript text, and the justification of the Latin text printed in the first volume.

A word about the Latin text is in place here. What is printed is the consensus of four manuscripts, marked A, B, C, and D, with every variant of importance noted in the margin, and with side light from other manuscripts when desirable. As I have shown that the true text lies in manuscripts of the English tradition, and that the received printed text comes from corrupt German copies, I have discarded the latter almost entirely. I can see no reason for printing a mass of demonstrably worthless readings from corrupt later manuscripts and equally bad printed texts, when the readings of the best manuscripts are at hand. It stereotypes error and breeds confusion.

The text of this edition contains, I believe, a fair copy of what Richard de Bury wrote. Of its nineteen thousand words very few are in serious doubt. The true text is a matter of plain demonstration, and its manuscript sources are ample and in close harmony. The corrupt text may also be traced with certainty to its later vitiated source.

The English version gave me much trouble. How to render the exuberant, irregular, richly-coloured fourteenth century Latin without cramping or smoothing, or letting its deep hues fade out into nineteenth century English, was the difficulty in one direction. The other was to avoid the affectation of archaism, which so often amounts to childishness. I resolved to let the Latin run freely into English without compression. Its mixture of contemporary style with frequent Biblical and other formal or

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technical touches led me to seek the equivalent to this in a modern type of prose infused with reminiscences of the richer style found in writers like Sir Thomas Browne and Francis Bacon. Above all, I have tried to let the author speak for himself. If in any place the English seems too pliable to Latin influence, it is to save the spirit of the treatise. If in places it is diffuse or careless, I must ask the reader to see if De Bury's Latin is not so. Let the Philobiblon shine as it is, faults and splendours alike. To tone it down in any way is to misrepresent it. The matter of the third volume explains itself. As the dominant purpose of this edition is literary rather than antiquarian, the explanatory matter is proportioned accordingly, but not, I hope, to the omission of anything that needs comment.

After making some progress with my work, I learned that Mr. Ernest C. Thomas, of London, was also preparing an edition. It has lately appeared. While the text does not differ very greatly from this edition, I am constrained to differ radically in my treatment of the manuscript sources of the text and in its translation, as well as in many minor matters.

It remains to acknowledge the principal courtesies I have received in preparing this edition. In England I am most indebted to Dr. E. A. Bond, formerly Principal Librarian, and Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, now Principal Librarian, at the British Museum, and Mr. Falconer Madan, of the Bodleian. I must also mention the obliging courtesy of Mr. Ernest C. Thomas, of London; the Rev. W. D. Macray and Mr. E. B. Nicholson, of the Bodleian; Dr. Broderick, Master of Merton College, Oxford; Rev. H. A. Wilson, of Magdalen College, Oxford; Dr. Phelps, Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; Dr. Charles Waldstein, of King's College, Cambridge; Rev. S. S. Lewis, of Corpus Christi, Cambridge; and Mr. Pascual de Gayangos, of London.

On the Continent I have received important help from M.

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Léopold Delisle, of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and Dr. Giovanni Bollig, Prefect of the Vatican Library at Rome, as well as from the Libraries in Brussels, Basle, Erfurt, Bamberg, Venice, and the Escorial.

At home I must acknowledge the valuable aid received from the Rev. Joseph H. Dulles, Librarian of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and my colleague, Professor Magie, in carrying the book through the press and in other ways. Acknowledgment is also due to Professors Sloane and Frothingham, of Princeton, Mr. Frederic Vinton, Librarian of Princeton College, and Mr. M. Taylor Pyne, of New-York. Many members of the Grolier Club have bestowed time and effort freely in order to help me. Of these I am especially indebted to Mr. Theodore L. De Vinne, Mr. Beverly Chew, Mr. W. L. Andrews, and the late Mr. Hamilton Cole.

Lastly, I ought to mention the kindness of the late Mr. Justice Matthews, of Washington, of the Hon. E. J. Phelps, formerly Minister to England, and the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, formerly Minister to Spain, in furthering the preparation of this edition in various ways.

ANDREW FLEMING WEST.

Princeton College, December, 1889.





Richard de Bury and his Philobiblon



HIS TIMES



RICHARD DE BURY was a prominent figure in the earlier half of the fourteenth century, especially in the latter years of his life, that is to say, the eighteen years following the accession of Edward the Third in 1327. They were years of vigour in the history of England, and notable beginnings of modern English development

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lie in them. The feeble reign of Edward the Second gave place to a brilliant period. While diplomacy was busy negotiating against the inevitable wars with France, the prowess of England at Crécy and Poitiers was already foreshadowed in the victory over the Scots at Halidon Hill in 1333 and the defeat of the French in 1340 in the great sea-fight off Sluys. Nor were civil affairs at rest, for repeated attempts were made to develop trade and commerce, and, more important still, the rights of Parliament received marked acknowledgment from the reluctant Crown. In ecclesiastical affairs the spirit of English freedom boldly asserted itself against the Papal pretensions. The spirit of Robert Grosseteste continued to animate English bishops and was on its logical way to Wyclif and the yet distant Reformation. The ignorance and vices of the great monastic orders received more than one searching rebuke from the greater churchmen.

Learning yet lingered within stone walls. Scholasticism was dying, but dying in splendour. The writings of Thomas Aquinas, the Dominican, were still on "the top of the world" in theology. Roger Bacon's prodigious learning had lately left its mark on Oxford, and the other famous Franciscans, Duns Scotus and Occam, came close after him and closed the great scholastic roll. Bradwardine stood forth at Oxford as the solitary advocate of Augustinian theology, and Fitzralph bravely battled against monastic corruption. Both influenced Wyclif later and both were intimate friends of Richard de Bury.

Letters and learning were alike waiting for their deliverers. When Richard de Bury died, in 1345, Wyclif

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was still in his student days at Oxford, and the poetry of Chaucer, Gower, and Langland was unwritten. Abroad, the time of Dante was past and the age of Petrarch and Boccaccio had begun. The modern tongues and literatures of Italy and France were budding and blooming, while in England the native tongue was loosening from Latin and the native spirit was preparing to break out of the monastery into green fields of its own. But these influences did not penetrate into the learned circle wherein De Bury is the only real literary figure. He lives in the Middle Ages, and his marked love for letters is love for the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the classical writers, with but little place for the "moderns." His *Philobiblon* is the last backward look in Latin literature.

HIS LIFE

RICHARD D'AUNGERVILLE, surnamed De Bury, was of Norman descent. There were churchmen of his name in Normandy long before his time.¹ His father was Sir Richard Aungerville, whose ancestor came over at the time of the Conquest.² He was born in an obscure hamlet near Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, January 24th or 25th,³ 1287. His father's death occurred while he was yet a boy and left him to the care of a maternal uncle, John of Willoughby, who sent him first to a grammar school and afterwards to Oxford, where he remained, according to his chronicler, William de Cham-

¹ See "Richard d'Aungerville" in Ordericus Vitalis, II, 122, and III, 248 (Bohn's Ed.).

² See Thomas's Ed. of *Philobiblon*, xii, note 2.

³ See note to page 24.

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bre, *per aliquod certum tempus*. His going to Oxford can hardly have been later than about 1305 and, according to the ordinary entering age of mediæval students, was probably earlier. On leaving the University he is said to have become a Benedictine monk at Durham.¹ Within a few years² after 1312, the birth date of the Prince of Wales, the future Edward the Third, Richard de Bury was selected by the King as his son's tutor. He attached himself to the fortunes of his pupil, who in turn became warmly attached to him. In 1322 he was made Chamberlain of Chester,³ and shortly afterwards the King's principal Treasurer in Gascony. This position he still held when the unworthy Queen Isabella and her son, the young Edward, fled to Paris in 1325, engaging in intrigues against the King. As they were hard pressed for money Richard secretly conveyed to them a large sum which he had collected as Treasurer. The King's lieutenant, hearing of this, pursued him with twenty-four lancers as far as Paris, where he hid himself seven days in the Campanile of the Franciscan monks. When Edward came to the throne, January 14th, 1327, Richard's Public Career, 1327-1343. fidelity to him was not forgotten. He was quickly appointed Cofferer to the King, then Treasurer of the Wardrobe, and next Clerk of the Privy Seal—the three promotions occurring within five years.

¹ See p. clxi of Sir Thomas Hardy's Introduction to Vol. 3 of the *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*.
Edward's letter to the Pope in 1330, Rymer's *Fœdera*, II, part II, 804.

³ See Thomas's Ed., xiii, notes

² Compare *a pueritia nostra* in 2 and 3.

Richard de Bury and his Philobiblon.

But he was to rise higher. On December 26th, 1330, Edward wrote with his own hand a letter to Pope John XXII, at Avignon, urgently asking the *papalis provisio* in favour of Richard, and naming certain benefices.¹ This was the time of his first visit to Avignon. He was made the Pope's chaplain, with a promise of the next vacant English bishopric. This cost him some five thousand marks. His return to England was accomplished by October, 1331. In February, 1332, the King sent him with three others to investigate the condition of certain scholars at the University of Cambridge.² His second visit to the Pope was made in the early summer of 1333, as Edward's ambassador, bearing six thousand florins in gold from the King. In addition to other preferments he was made Dean of Wells.³ On one of his visits to Avignon he met Petrarch, who describes him as *vir ardentis ingenii nec litterarum inscius* and in regard to the obscurer curiosities of knowledge as *supra fidem curiosus* and *quaestunculis enodandis aptissimus*. He promised the poet to send him the explanation of the *Ultima Thule* of the ancients, but to his disappointment never fulfilled the promise.⁴ On both these visits Richard supported the dignity of his master in sumptuous fashion. When visiting the Pope or the Cardinals he was always attended by twenty clerks arrayed alike and thirty-six esquires in another livery.

Visits the
Pope,
1330 and 1333.

¹ Rymer, II, ii, 804. ² Ibid., II, ii, 831. ³ Ibid., II, ii, 864.

⁴ Petrarch, Epist. de Rebus Familiaribus, III, 1.

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Stopping at Paris on his way homeward, he learned of the death of Louis de Beaumont, the Bishop of Durham, and that the King had already sent letters to the Pope insisting on his appointment to the vacancy. By this news he "was greatly grieved." This must have been as late as October, for Louis died on September 25th.¹ On being urged by one of his clerks to write to the Cardinals and other of his friends at the Papal Court, he replied that "he would send no letters for that bishopric or any other."

On October 7th the King's license was issued for the meeting of the Prior and Convent of Durham to elect a bishop, and on October 14th the King assigned the temporalities of Durham to Richard de Bury. But on the next day the Prior and Convent, proceeding in due form to the election of a bishop, chose their sub-prior, Robert de Graystones, who was in every way worthy of the elevation. Their choice commanded general approbation and Graystones obtained proclamatory letters from the Archbishop of York, setting November 5th as the day of his confirmation. He then went to Edward, who refused his consent to the election, on the ground that he was unwilling to offend the Pope, who meant the bishopric for Richard. Meanwhile Edward had not been idle, for besides his letters to the Pope he had also written to the Prior and Convent of Durham in Richard's behalf. Graystones returned to York and deliberated what to do. He was lawfully elected and, being so advised, resolved to proceed according to his rights. He was for the time being the representative of English ecclesiastical

¹ Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres., p. 119.

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liberty against Papal interference. He was accordingly consecrated at York, November 16th, and installed at Durham a few days later. He then went a second time to the King, who refused to see him, but sent word that his cause could be deferred until the next Parliament. But as De Bury had already been assigned the temporalities by the King before his election, Graystones was not deceived by the subterfuge. He withdrew from the unequal contest, recording his cause in a dignified account, free from personal censure of De Bury.¹

Meanwhile the absent Richard had returned, probably after a lengthened stay at Paris, his *paradisus mundi*. His agents were soon put in possession of the temporalities of Durham and he was consecrated bishop on December 19th by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Chertsey, near London. In February, 1334, he was made Lord Treasurer and on June 5th of the same year was installed at Durham. After his installation he gave a great feast at which there were present the King and Queen, the Queen-mother Isabella, the King of Scotland, two archbishops, five bishops, "seven counts with their wives," all the notables north of the Trent, many knights and esquires, "more" abbots and priors and monks, and an "innumerable multitude" of the commonalty.

On September 20th he was appointed with two other bishops to inquire into the discordant state of the University of Oxford,² and was made Lord Chancellor of

¹ Hist. Dun. Scriptores Tres., pp. 120-122.

² Rymer, II, ii, 892.

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England eight days later.¹ But he retained the Great Seal less than nine months, surrendering it June 6th, 1335,² to the King at York. The rest of the year was spent in his diocese. In December he probably entertained the King at Auckland.³

The next seven or eight years of his life were largely devoted to the King's service abroad and to keeping peace with Scotland. Edward was making ready to assert his claims in France, and Richard's career is part of the early diplomacy of his reign. Three times he was commissioned to go to France, once to the Low Countries, and many times to treat for truce or peace or else prepare for hostilities with Robert Bruce of Scotland.

In July, 1336,⁴ he was sent with others to treat with Philip of France, ostensibly concerning a projected joint Crusade to the Holy Land. The commissioners returned without success in September.⁵ Once in this year and three times in 1337 he was appointed to treat or consult concerning Scotland.⁶ His second mission to France dates from June, 1338. The Archbishop of Canterbury with Richard and others were given full powers to treat for peace, mainly in order to conciliate the Pope.⁷

He sailed for the Low Countries, visiting Antwerp, Mechlin, and Brussels, as well as other cities. Edward followed his commissioners to Antwerp in July and

¹ Rymer, II, ii, 893.

² Ibid., II, ii, 909.

³ Ibid., II, ii, 927, sqq.

⁴ Ibid., II, ii, 941.

⁵ Rymer, II, ii, 950.

⁶ Ibid., II, ii, 950, 963, 979, 1000.

⁷ Ibid., II, ii, 1043.

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annulled their powers. He was on his way to meet the Emperor Lewis at Coblenz, in order to form an alliance against Philip. On this journey, and at the gorgeous pageant which marked the meeting of the two sovereigns, De Bury was present. Edward and Lewis entered into alliance against France. At the Pope's instance, however, the powers of the commissioners were renewed by Edward in November at Antwerp,¹ but to no effect. Richard remained on the continent negotiating with the allies and raising money for the King's necessities until he was sent back to England in September, 1339.² In April, 1340, he was again empowered with others to treat for peace with Scotland.³ His last commission to treat with France is dated February, 1341.⁴ It soon expired and one charging him and others to arrange the defenses of Northern England against Scotland took its place in July, 1341.⁵ But the bishop hated war and has not failed to leave the record of this abhorrence in his *Philobiblon*. "Fingers were given men," he tells us, "for the business of writing and not for use in war." "Wars are not grounded in reason," and their fury is a "murderous tyranny." His best years had been given to negotiating for peace. Hence we need not be surprised to find his warlike master stirring him up to action or using other men as his counselors when the French wars began in earnest. In August Edward laid especial charge on Richard to serve under Balliol against Bruce⁶ and enjoined him a month later to set

¹ Rymer, II, ii, 1065.

² Ibid., II, ii, 1091.

³ Ibid., II, ii, 1122.

⁴ Rymer, II, ii, 1156.

⁵ Ibid., II, ii, 1168.

⁶ Ibid., II, ii, 1172.

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all the men of his bishopric in array.¹ Richard equipped his escort at his own expense, twenty men-at-arms and as many mounted archers, but that appears to be all.² The attack on Scotland was fruitless, and in April, 1342, he was sent to treat again with Bruce for peace.³

By 1343 he had practically disappeared from public life. Thenceforth he busied himself with the affairs of his diocese.

Closing Years
in England,
1343-1345. A letter from the Pope, then Clement VI, dated October 23d, 1343, has interest from its bearing on Richard's love for learn-

ing. The letter grants Richard's petition regarding the revenues of the parish church at Houghton, and authorizes him to use part of them for the support of four scholars, two in theology and two in civil or canon law.⁴ But the better part of his time belonged to his books and a circle of learned companions, among whom were some of the best of English churchmen. Two of them deserve prominent mention. One was Thomas Bradwardine, the ablest thinker of them all, author of the *De Causa Dei*, and writer on astronomy and mathematics, the *Doctor Profundus* of Wyclif's writings. He was later elected Archbishop of Canterbury. He does not seem to have been in England during the last few years of Richard's life, as he was Edward's chaplain for the armies in France. The other was Richard Fitzralph, the vigorous assailant of the corrupt mendicant orders. He was made Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1333, the same year that saw De Bury's promotion to the See of Durham. Wyclif may have heard his lectures. Both Bradwardine and Fitz-

¹ Rymer, II, ii, 1175.

² Ibid., II, ii, 1183.

³ Rymer, II, ii, 1191.

⁴ Ibid., II, ii, 1237.

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ralph were Oxford students at the time when De Bury was also there as a student, and their acquaintance may date back to that time.

Others of his friends were the eloquent preacher and theologian Robert Holkot, Richard Kilmington, Richard Bentworth, who became Bishop of London, Walter Seagrave, later Bishop of Chichester, Walter Burley, the acute Aristotelian who dedicated one of his treatises to De Bury, and John Manduit, the mathematician and astronomer. These were his old and fast friends, companions on his journeys, partakers of his board, and intimate in all his life.¹

He made it his custom to have books read to him every day while at table. Then would follow a *disputatio* with some of his above-named friends and others who were present, except when he was interrupted by public business. The practice of almsgiving was also part of his life. Every week he had eight quarters of wheat made into bread for the poor, besides giving other food from his table. When traveling between Durham and Auckland it was his custom to give away five marks, between Durham and Stockton eight marks, between Durham and New Castle sometimes as much as twelve marks, and on the way to Middleham one hundred shillings.

His last illness was now drawing on, nor did it prove a short one. *Longa infirmitate decoctus* is his chronicler's phrase. That the Philobiblon was composed, at least in part, during his illness is evident. Its tone is that of a man who writes with death in view. The nineteenth chapter is a testamentary

Writes the
Philobiblon,
1344-1345.

¹ Philobiblon, c. viii.

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declaration, and the opening words of the last chapter are, "Time now grows clamorous that we should finish the treatise we have put together on the love of books," while the book closes with a devout appeal for prayers in behalf of his soul, in view of his approaching end. The *Philobiblon* was completed in his episcopal manor-house at

Death and Burial, 1345. Auckland, January 24th, 1345, his fifty-eighth year being exactly completed (*præcise completo*).¹ His death occurred within less than three months, on April 14th, 1345. One week later he was buried with becoming, but scarcely sufficient honours, as De Chambre writes, in Durham Cathedral before the altar of St. Mary Magdalene. On his marble tomb "his owne ymage was most curiously and artificially ingraven in brass, with the pictures of the twelve Apostles devided and bordered of either side of him, and other fine imagery work about it, much adorning the marble stone,"² according to an account written in 1593. But the "ymage" has long since perished with his tomb, having been destroyed probably in the civil wars of the seventeenth century. According to ancient custom, his four silver seals were broken in small pieces and made into a silver-gilt chalice for the altar of St. Cuthbert. Impressions of three of these seals are in existence to-day, one of them containing a portrait fairly agreeing with the description of the "ymage" on his tomb. It is our sole portrait of De Bury.³ It has the true churchman's look, blended with dignity and refinement.

¹ This means, I think, that it was the last day of his fifty-eighth year. If so, his birthday is January 25th, not 24th.

² Rites of Durham, Surtees Society, 1842, p. 2.

³ See Appendix on The Seals of Richard de Bury.

Richard de Bury and his Philobiblon.

That he died in debt is clear. His executors had to meet obligations to the Prior and Convent of Durham and Radulph Neville. Even some of his books were sold. Still there is no evidence to prove Adam of Murimuth's unfriendly statements that his last days were spent *in gravissima paupertate* and that his own familiar friends stole all his movable possessions during his illness, so that he had nothing to cover his body when dying, except a shirt belonging to the one attendant who stayed with him to the last.¹

The fate of his library is tragic enough, but there is no sufficient disproof of the traditional account that his books went to Oxford, as he expressly intended they should. According to this account, they were Fate of his
Library. sent to the Hall of the Durham Benedictine monks, perhaps while he was yet alive. Possibly this will explain the story that his friends plundered him. De Bury may have secured their aid to save his books for Oxford; else they might be sold after his death to pay his debts. They were preserved in this Hall at Oxford in chests until the reign of Henry IV (1399-1413), when they were taken out and fastened to reading-desks or pews and so remained until Henry VIII dissolved Durham College. The books were then parted, some going to Duke Humphrey's library, others to Balliol College, and the rest to the King's physician, Dr. George Owen of Godstow near Oxford.² That any which remained in Oxford escaped destruction in the

¹ See Appendix on Adam of Univ. of Oxford," II, 910-911; Murimuth's Chronicle. and of the "Colleges and Halls,"

² See Gutch's Ed. of Anthony 517 and 527. Wood's "Hist. and Antiq. of

Richard de Bury and his Philobiblon.

ensuing "Visitation" of 1550 is scarcely credible. Only two books of this splendid mediæval library can now be found. One is a copy of Anselm and other theological treatises, now in the Bodleian.¹ The other is a twelfth century copy of John of Salisbury's works, now in the British Museum.²

HIS CHARACTER AND ATTAINMENTS

DE BURY's character and attainments are visible at many points in the chronicle of his life, and are still better revealed in his *Philobiblon*. He was a man
As a Public Man. of his age, but better than his age. Without rising to the level of greatness, he is far above the commonplace. He allowed himself to follow the custom of his times in making large presents of money to the Pope to secure the promise of ecclesiastical promotion. But when the bishopric of Durham fell vacant he did not seek it, and would write no letters on his own behalf. His acceptance of the bishopric after Graystones had been robbed of his rights was not an admirable thing. But in extenuation let it be said that his dilemma was most uncomfortable. On the one side lay a rich preferment secured for him by his tried friend the King, and on the other loss of the King's favour if he refused it and took his stand with Graystones. He chose to acquiesce in the King's action. It was an ignoble act, not only as judged by ideal standards, but by the conduct of Graystones and Robert Grosseteste before him. Yet he was an up-

¹ Laud Misc., 363.

² Royal MSS., 13 D., iv, 3.

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right bishop after all, and a patriotic Englishman. No man denounced more frankly the corrupt practices of the Papal Court and the degeneracy of the monastic orders.

In one other way the taint of his age clung to him. While Lord Chancellor and Treasurer of England he allowed himself to receive valuable presents of books from suitors and "expedited" their cases in return. "And yet," he adds, "so that justice suffered no harm." Though it is hard to condemn a man who tells on himself, yet this was mild bribery. We are not, indeed, to suppose he perverted justice, but that he hurried up the hearing of cases whenever he could get books by doing so.

Apart from these questionable traits his character is pleasing to contemplate. It is a mixture in which the good greatly preponderates. His weaknesses were not vices. They were fine living, rich ^{Personal} ^{Disposition.} vestments, sumptuous appointments, and the display due his master's state. He was a man of ardent temper, easily provoked if he heard what displeased him, but as easily recalled from his anger. His hospitality, like his almsgiving, was open-handed and hearty, and his wealth was used liberally. He was a man of peace. He did all he could to stop Edward's wars of aggrandizement in France, and when his efforts proved ineffectual, withdrew in dignity to the quiet of Auckland.

His entire freedom from small envy and unworthy personal feelings toward others is beautifully touched on by De Chambre. "One day at York," he writes, "when he was seated at the table with seven of his friends, Master John Wawham arrived in haste and announced

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that Master Robert Graystones was dead. So greatly was he grieved to hear of his death, that he could not endure the presence of the messenger. When his companions thereupon asked why he grieved so deeply at Graystones' death, he answered, 'Truly, did you know his worth as well as I do, you would grieve as much.' Then he added, 'For he was fitter to be Pope than I or any one like me for the least office in the Church of God.'

His master-passion was his love of books — not for their outside, but their contents. To him they were the "sacred

Love of
Books. vessels of wisdom" and nothing less. The story of how he collected his splendid library

is fully told in his eighth chapter, and why he did so is recited in the eighteenth chapter and the prologue. His defense of book-love takes the highest ground. All men, he argues, naturally desire knowledge and wisdom, the most precious things in the world. They are better than riches or friends. But knowledge and wisdom lie hidden chiefly in books, whose value accordingly is only less than that of the Kingdom of Heaven. "All that thou hast" is Richard's appraisal. He had the best private library of his time in England. It contained more books than belonged to all the other bishops put together. They were stored in his separate residences, and so much did he live with them that they were scattered all about his bed-chamber, until his friends, when they entered, could find no place for standing or walking without trampling on them.

A pleasant picture he makes among his friends. They are seated at his table. A Latin volume of Aristotle is

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brought from his fine library and all listen to the reading. The words of the "prince of philosophers," "the measurer of all art and science, whose is all that is best in this passing sublunary world," are the accompaniment to their meal. Or else some treatise of a Catholic doctor, or work on astronomy, or commentary on Scripture, or a Latin classic, takes Aristotle's place. Of fresher interest would be the "last thing" in theology or philosophy from Paris or some *sermo devotus* from the Holy See. The meal over, a *disputatio* followed, no doubt with that elaborate regard for the proprieties of mediæval dialectics which is paralleled only by the formal courtesies and procedures in the etiquette of mediæval warfare. This was the "comforting conversation," the "varied and abundant feast of reason," whereby he was often so "pleasantly refreshed," and out of this circle of influences and his books comes his *Philobiblon*.

De Bury's place is not among the great scholars. He cannot stand alongside of Bradwardine and Fitzralph. He was less learned than the circle of friends
whom he loved. But he was well grounded Scholarship.
in the elements of theology and philosophy. Though he never quotes the great Schoolmen, he had read in them often. His citations are from the Vulgate Scriptures, Aristotle in Latin, the Latin classics, the Church Fathers, John of Salisbury, and but little else. Aristotle is his great authority. A quotation from him is always an axiom. Boethius has a high but lesser place. Aulus Gellius and Valerius Maximus furnish him ancient history. Of the Latin classics he quotes Horace, Ovid,

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Martial, Suetonius, and Seneca. Augustine and Jerome are his favourites among the Fathers and John of Salisbury among the "moderns." The theology of Thomas Aquinas and the learning of Roger Bacon he leaves unmentioned, though both are needful for the understanding of many places in his book. His library, so far as we can learn from the books he and his friends used, was of the standard late mediæval type, containing copies of the Scriptures, Aristotle in Latin, the Fathers, the Schoolmen, some of the "moderns," and but little else. Latin everywhere, and Greek scarcely at all.

De Bury's Greek was slight enough. Greek words are "exotic" to him, and he handles them delicately. They are not infrequent, however, in his book. He coins *geologia* correctly and *Philobiblon* awkwardly. He makes a show of *athanatos*, as though there were magic in it—"an author remaining *athanatos* cannot perish." At times he rests his argument on some formidable Greek figure, such as *anthropospathos* or *antonomastice*, with much satisfaction. He had a Greek grammar and glossary prepared for students, but does not say he prepared it, and nowhere quotes a Greek author save from a Latin version. His hearsay knowledge of Greek and Latin writers is very considerable and his judgment about them has been often heard later. The "whole cohort of the Latins," he says, would have been of little value apart from their Greek sources. He employs a few Latinized Arabic astronomical terms and urges the study of Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew. Here his linguistic attainments stop.

His real position is that of a patron of learning in a cir-

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cle of more learned friends. He was well read and not destitute of acuteness, as his treatise shows, but this seems to have been the measure of his scholarship. His unique value, however, lies in his fervid love for letters. He does not break from his age and study books for themselves, but for their inestimable help in elucidating the encyclopædic wisdom contained in the Scriptures and the great Catholic doctors. For his time this was the whole of learning. But there is more than this in the spirit of his Philobiblon. His insistence on the study of letters is so urgent, and he asserts so plainly that a man who knows only his Bible and the Fathers does not really know them without literature and philosophy also, that we are tempted to say that germs of humanism are there. And so they are, but it is a religious humanism, for to him a Renaissance in letters without religion would have meant nothing.

HIS PHILOBIBLON

THE PHILOBIBLON is his literary testament and autobiography as well. The prologue recites the reason for its composition. It is to justify his "ecstatic love" for books and "make clearer than Its Plan. light" his charitable intent in gathering them for the use of needy scholars to whom he bequeaths them. The twenty chapters proceed with this end in view. The first three lay the foundation of his argument by proving the inestimable value of books. The next four (IV-VII) recite the terrible injuries they have suffered, both from the clergy, of whom it should be least expected, and by the

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ravages of war. The eighth tells delightfully the story of the acquisition of his own books. The next five (IX-XIII) explain his love and care for books, chiefly for the books of "the liberal arts," and justify the reading of the classical poets.

The fourteenth proves that as the clergy stand in greatest need of books to perform aright their office, so they are especially bound to love them. The fifteenth dwells eloquently on the infinite benefits the love of books confers, and the sixteenth and seventeenth enforce its spirit on the clergy in regard to their duties in making copies and caring for "holy books."

So much is the general course of the book. Its scope now narrows to its more definite object. The eighteenth chapter accordingly explains his charitable intentions in gathering books, and the nineteenth wills his entire library to the scholars of "N. Hall" in Oxford, the yet unfounded Durham College, and prescribes rules for its preservation and use. The twentieth and last chapter entreats the prayers of his beneficiaries for his soul's eternal welfare.

It is plain that the book is no loose medley, but a literary unit, fairly complete in its parts, yet flexible and easy withal. De Bury never rambles, though he sometimes digresses.

The language is Latin, but it would have made Cicero shiver. It is not classically modeled, of course, though

here and there it contains passages not unworthy of classical writers. It is a composite with a strongly marked patristic and scholastic basis. With these goes a distinctly visible Vulgate element. Here

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and there a late barbarous word creeps in, such as *polychronitudo* for *longævitas*. Some "exotic" words are compounded outright into Latin; others seem to have been expressly imported whole, as *archiphilosophus*, *hieraphilosophus*, and *canonium*; and last of all come a few outlandish-looking terms of Arabic astronomy—*assub*, *aux*, and *genzahar*. The syntax sometimes looks asquint. Of outright grammatical mistakes there are only a few. Once in a while the author manages to progress through an intricate statement in such a way that the wonder is where he will come out.

But it makes fine reading after all. It is full of energy and copious to overflowing, being almost too affluent for the confines of English translation. It rolls along profuse in allegorical allusion, full of its style. rich resonance, and with endless interior echoings between sound and sense, sometimes laborious and pompous, and never without a sort of dignity. It has a strong scriptural and scholastic flavour and an overwhelming show of learning, enough one would think to appal the stoutest of the ignorant and idle monks at whom it was directed. Yet the frank-hearted man shows through it all. Strong common sense and shrewd wit lurk behind his allegories and invectives. Sometimes he rises into real eloquence, again he runs into a string of playful allusions, and again goes aside to draw on a single page some sketch of character that is almost perfect.¹ But his main theme is always before him, though his eyes are open to whatever

¹ See the sketches of the indolent scholar in Chapter XVII.

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lies around it, and that theme is his inextinguishable love for books. His treatise on that theme is the first in history. Its charm has been felt for centuries and to-day remains unbroken. First in time and first in intrinsic literary worth as well, what that man has penned so well deserves to be styled the *Liber Aureolus* on the love of books!





The Text of the Philobiblon

PRINTED EDITIONS



PREVIOUS to the issue of this edition, and apart from the edition of Mr. Ernest C. Thomas lately published, the Philobiblon has appeared in print twelve times, beginning with the Cologne *editio princeps* of 1473 and ending with Professor Morley's London reprint of Inglis's translation in 1888. In all these twelve editions, excepting only the one printed at Oxford in 1599, no labour worthy the name of editing has been bestowed upon the Latin text, while the two translations which have been made, the English of Inglis in 1832 and the French of Cocheris in 1856, are not only imperfect, even when judged by the text they translate, but are hopelessly wrong in many places because they are based on a grossly corrupted original.

Despite these drawbacks, the history of the printed text has decided interest and value. Its interest lies in

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its perpetuating for four hundred years a perverted tradition as to the text, while its value consists in the demonstration it furnishes of the need of seeking an earlier and better source for the Philobiblon, if we are to bring to light in its purity what Richard de Bury wrote.

The twelve editions, arranged in order of time, are as follows:

I. The Cologne edition of 1473.

The Spires edition of 1483.

The Paris edition of 1500.

These three belong in a class by themselves as beautiful examples of early printing. They contain the plain Latin text without annotations. The Cologne edition is printed from one manuscript without editing. The Spires edition is printed with some arbitrary alterations from another. The Paris edition, while ostensibly based on a manuscript, is really a reproduction of the Cologne edition.

II. The Oxford edition of 1599 is to be classed as unique. It is based on a diligent but uncritical use of six or more manuscripts, and may be described as the first real attempt to determine the text from manuscript sources.

III. The Frankfort reprint of 1610.

The Frankfort reprint of 1614.

The Leipsic reprint of 1674.

The Helmstadt reprint of 1703.

These make a third class in which the Philobiblon always appears as one of several treatises bound up in a single volume. The compiler was Melchior Goldast, who derived his edition of 1610 from the Paris edition of 1500. The edition of 1610 is reprinted in the issues

**Inapit plogus in librū de amore libroꝝ qui
dicitur philobiblon**

Universis xp̄idelibus ab q̄s p̄
tis scripture tenor puenit. si
charbus de huri miseratione di
uina duuelmēis Ep̄us Salutē
ī dño sempiternam piamq; ip̄s
us presentat memoriam corā deo. in vita pi
ter et post fata Quid retribuam domino p̄ oī
bus que t̄tribuit michi deuotissime iuestigat
psalmista siex inuictus et exim⁹ pphetarum
In qua questicne ḡtissima semetipsum reddi
torem voluntarium debitorem multiplicariū et
sanctiorem optatē consiliarium recognoscat. con
cordans cū aristotile philosophoꝝ p̄ncipe qui
oēm de agibilibus questionem phil.um probat
esse tercio et sexto ethicorū. Hanc si ppheta
tam mirabilis. secretorū p̄fatus dñorum p̄
consulere volebat cū sollicitē. quō gr̄te possit
gr̄tis data residere. Quid nos rudes regra
atores et audibissimi receptores onusti diuinis
b̄nificiis infinitis poterim⁹ digni⁹ velle Pro
culdubio deliberatione sollicita et circūspectioz
multiplici inuitato p̄mitus spiritu septiformi
q̄ten⁹ in nostra meditatione ignis illuminās

EDITIO PRINCEPS, COLOGNE, 1473
Fac-simile of the opening page of the Prologue.

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of 1614 and 1674, and the issue of 1674 reappears in that of 1703.

IV. The London translation of 1832.

The Paris edition of 1856.

The Albany compilation of 1861.

The London reprint of 1888 (Professor Morley's).

The distinguishing feature of this group is that each edition contains a translation of the Latin text. The English version of Inglis in 1832 reappears in the editions of 1861 and 1888. The edition of 1856 contains the French version of Cocheris and his editing of the Latin text with copious annotations and introductory matter. The work of Cocheris and Inglis is combined in the edition of 1861. An examination of these editions separately will disclose the course which the printed text has followed and the source from which it springs.

The *editio princeps* was printed at Cologne in 1473. It is a thin, small quarto of forty-eight leaves, containing ninety-four pages of text, with part of the ninety-fifth. Besides the bare text of the

Editio Princeps,
Cologne, 1473.

Philobiblon it contains nothing save the heading, "*Incipit prologus in librum de amore librorum qui dicitur philobiblon,*" and the colophon, which is spaced about an inch below the text at the end and reads, "*Explicit philobiblon scilicet liber de amore librorum Coloniae impressus anno Domini MCCCCLXXIII, etc.*" There is no title page or preface, no pagination, numbering, signature, or press-mark of any sort. The pages measure 21 by 14 centimetres, and have broad, even margins throughout. The type is a rather handsome black letter, perhaps a

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little too thick and fat for elegance. It runs twenty-six lines to the page. Each chapter is headed by a title. The initial letter of each chapter is rubricated by hand. Oftentimes capitals at the beginning of sentences are coloured with a single downward streak of yellow. Except at the beginning of the prologue and first chapter, there is no paragraphing, and the chapters start even with the beginning of the line. The text swarms with abbreviations, which correspond with those so common in fifteenth century manuscripts. It has evidently been printed without editing from some manuscript (p. 88), and carelessly printed too, for typographers' blunders are not infrequent.

The second edition, edited anonymously by some one who styles himself "*minimus sacerdotum*," was printed by the brothers Johann and Conrad Hijst, at Spires, in 1483. It is a thin, small quarto, Second Edition, Spires, 1483. almost equal in size to the *editio princeps*, and contains thirty-nine leaves with seventy-seven pages of print. The first page is blank. The second is occupied with a preface by the editor. In it he recites the *gravem ac perdifficilem provinciam* which the printers had imposed upon him of editing for the press a very corrupt manuscript. His words are, "*Nam hoc exemplar ita viciatum reperi ita denique depravatum lituris tum græcis tum latinis ut emendatum ferme nunquam viderer.*" Accordingly he proceeds to alter his text at will, admitting in advance that his undertaking is perilous, "*ingressus sum rem sane meis humeris periculosum*," and that he ventures on a stormy sea, "*procelloso pelago*," but notwithstanding all, invokes the help of the Divine Spirit and spreads his

¶ Dbyl obpyblon discretissimi viri Richardi
 dylmelneñ epi. de q̄rimonia libron omib⁹
 līaz amatozib⁹ putil plog⁹ Incipit.

Mueris litteraz cultonibus
 Richard⁹ de buri miseracōe
 diuina dylmelneñ epi salutē.
 ⁊ piā ipi⁹ pntaze memoriā iur
 git⁹ corā deo in vita pit⁹ ⁊ p⁹
 fata Quid retribuā dño pro
 omib⁹ q̄ retribuit michi. sic deuot. sim⁹ in
 uelligat psal mista. Rex inuict⁹. eximiusq⁹
 nropheta (ps⁹. c. xvi). In qua questione
 gratissima / semetipsum reddidit volūtariū
 solutorem ⁊ debitorem multipharū. ⁊ san
 ctiozē optādo afiliariū recognoscit. ⁊ corā
 dās cū aristotile p̄lon p̄ncipe q̄ omem
 de agilib⁹ q̄stioem / cōsiliū pbat esse. iij⁹.
 ⁊. vj⁹. Ethicoz. Sane si p̄p̄ba tā mirabil / se
 cretoz p̄sci⁹ diuinor. p̄cōsule volebat / tā
 sollicite / q̄ ḡate poss⁹ ḡtis data refunde⁹ /
 Quid nos rudes regciatores / etiā audissis
 mi receptores onusti diuicijs bñficijs mfijs
 m̄tis / poterim⁹ digne velle. p̄culdubio de
 liberacōe solerti ⁊ circūspectōe multiplici
 Quccato p̄mit⁹ spū septiformi. q̄ten⁹ in
 nra meditacōe ignis illūians exardescat ⁊
 viā nō impedibile p̄uide⁹ debem⁹ attenci⁹
 q̄ largitor omnū decollatis muenb⁹ suis
 Spōte veneret⁹ recipee. Proxim⁹ reuelet⁹

SPIRES EDITION, 1483

Fac-simile of the opening page of the Prologue.

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sails, "*vela ventis dabo.*" It is little wonder that his text suffered shipwreck.

The third page is headed by the following title: "*Phylobylon disertissimi viri Richardi dilmelmensis episcopi de querimoniis librorum omnibus litterarum amatoribus perutilis prologus Incipit.*" Then follows the text, running to the very end of the book. There is no colophon. Unlike the Cologne edition, it has a double set of chapter titles. One set is collected at the end of the prologue, and the other is used separately to furnish a heading for each of the twenty chapters. The two sets are very unlike, only eleven titles pairing perfectly, while the other nine vary sometimes by a word or two, and sometimes totally. Both the collected and separate titles are, save a brief phrase or so, entirely different from the Cologne titles. Strangely enough, however, they are nearer the true text, for, as will appear later, the Spires editor evidently had a manuscript which, though inferior, was yet in the line of the genuine text tradition, whereas the Cologne printer used one of the very worst.

The book has no pagination, numbering, signatures, catchwords, or press-marks. The pages measure a scant 21 by 14 centimetres, and have broad margins. The printing runs thirty-one lines to a full page. The chapters are spaced off from one another. Occasionally the ending of a page is left blank where the chapter ends and the new chapter heads the next page. The type is black letter, smaller and less showy than in the *editio princeps*. It is plain but beautiful. Chapter initials are rubricated by hand, and red vertical streaks are marked across most

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capitals. A slanting punctuation stroke is frequent and occurs at irregular intervals, some of which are grammatical and others apparently capricious.

Whatever value the text may have had in manuscript has of course been greatly impaired by the editor's adventurous emendations. Only two need be mentioned. In every manuscript, and in every printed edition except this, the prologue begins, "*Universis Christi fidelibus*," "To all the faithful in Christ." The Spires editor changes this to "*Universis litterarum cultoribus*," "To all lovers of letters." At the end of the text he makes the closing sentence "*Valete et scientiam litterarum colite*"—an addition purely his own.

The third edition was printed at Paris in 1500. It was printed by Gaspar Philippus for Jean Petit the bookseller.

The editor was Iodocus Badius Ascensius.
Third Edition,
Paris, 1500. This explains the old error into which

Cocheris, the editor of the Paris edition of 1856, fell when he stated that there were two Paris editions of 1500, one by Jean Petit and the other by Badius Ascensius, and then proceeded to give the title of each, missing the true title in each instance. It is a small, thin quarto of twenty-four leaves with a little more than forty-six pages of text, running forty lines to the page. The pages measure 18 by 13 centimetres. The first page contains the title in two parts. At the top of the page is "*Philobiblion Tractatus pulcherrimus de amore librorum*." At the bottom, "*Venundatur in leone argenteo vici sancti Iacobi*." In the middle of the page is a wood engraving, in which Jean Petit's monogram appears on

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a shield upheld by two lions, and his name is engraved below in full. "*Philobiblion*" instead of "*Philobiblon*" in the title first appears in this edition. It seems to be either a printer's error or the editor's caprice, for it is not the original spelling in any manuscript.¹

The second page contains a short extract bearing on the life of Richard de Bury. It is taken from the work of Trithemius, entitled *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*. Following this, on the same page, is the preface of Ascensius, dedicating the edition in a fulsome manner to Laurentius Burellus, confessor to the King. Ascensius acknowledges the receipt from Burellus of a "*lepidum quoddam opusculum philobibloin* [!] *ab authore inscriptum*," which Burellus had sent with the injunction to print it. Other expressions in the preface imply that what Burellus sent him to print was a manuscript. This task Ascensius gratefully engaged to perform, "*quam quidem provinciam lubentissimus obivi*." He did not do so, however, but reprinted the Cologne text of 1473! This appears when the text of the edition of 1500 is compared with that of 1473. The chapter titles, for example, are an exact reproduction, excepting the word "*Philobiblion*" and three minute errors of the press. Evidently Ascensius would naturally desire to conceal his procedure from Burellus, and there is evidence to show that he did. In the short extract from Trithemius, which he prints, he alters the text in an important particular. The *editio princeps* of Trithemius's work *De Scriptoribus*

¹ "*Philibiblion*" does occur, MS. (335), and "*Philobiblion*" however, in an entry in a late in the amended title of the Sidney hand at the end of the Arundel Sussex MS. at Cambridge.

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Ecclesiasticis, printed in Basle in 1494, was the only edition of that book in existence in 1500, when Ascensius edited the Philobiblon, and in this edition of Trithemius the account of Richard de Bury (on the *verso* of folio 89) contains the sentence, "*Scriptis de amore librorum et institutione dictæ bibliothecæ pulcherrimum tractatum qui iam impressus est.*" When Ascensius reprints this he omits "*qui iam impressus est,*" thus suppressing what would otherwise be known, namely, the fact that a printed edition was in existence before his editing. His preface also is silent in respect to any previous edition. As the only two which preceded him were those of Cologne and Spires, which differ widely, and as his text is almost identical with that of the Cologne edition, these facts, coupled with his suppression of all notice of a previous edition, and with his professions to Burellus in the preface, admit of no explanation save one, and that is, that he had reason to conceal from Burellus the existence of the Cologne edition, the reason being that he did not print the manuscript Burellus sent him, but used the Cologne edition instead. His method of concealing his want of ingenuousness is naive indeed.

Typographically the book is a model. The delicate light Roman type makes a graceful page. There are no italics. Abbreviations are moderately frequent. There is no rubrication or colouring of any kind. The chapter initials are white, set in dark speckled squares. The chapters are numbered and headed with titles. Before the prologue "*Incipit prologus*" occurs and after it is "*Explicit prologus,*" as in the Cologne edition. There are catchwords

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and press-marks, but no pagination and no paragraphing in the chapters. The colophon reads: "*Explicitum est philobiblion scilicet de amore librorum quem impressit apud parrhisios hoc anno secundum eosdem millesimo quingentesimo ad calendas martias. Gaspar philippus pro Ioanne parvo Bibliopola parrhisiensi.*" I cannot help thinking that the error regarding two supposed Paris editions of 1500 sprang from a misunderstanding of "*quem impressit apud parrhisios hoc anno secundum,*" through overlooking the connection of "*secundum*" with "*eosdem.*"

The fourth edition was printed in Oxford in 1599. One copy in the Bodleian is dated 1598. It is a small, thin quarto of forty leaves. The pages have broad margins and measure approximately 14 by 20 Fourth Edition, Oxford, 1598-99. centimetres. The type is plain Roman, with free use of italics for quotations and proper names as well as for some titles and headings. It is the first edition with running head-lines. The even numbered pages are headed "*De Amore Librorum*" and the odd numbered pages "*& De Institutione Bibliothecæ.*" The paging is marked by Arabic numerals. There are also catchwords and press-marks. Textual and literary notes occur on the margins. There is a double set of chapter titles, one collected at the end of the prologue and the other serving for headings to the separate chapters. They are wholly different from those in the Cologne and Paris editions, and resemble the titles in the Spires edition. The title page begins: "*Philobiblon Richardi Dunelmensis sive De Amore Librorum et Institutione Bibliothecæ tractatus pulcherrimus. Ex collatione cum variis manuscriptis editio jam secunda.*" The

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editor was Thomas James, who three years later became the first Bodleian Librarian. From the phrase "*editio jam secunda*" it is clear that James knew only one of the three editions which preceded his own. That this was the Paris edition is evident from the fact that "*De Amore Librorum et Institutione Bibliothecæ*" on James's title page is a condensation of "*Scriptis de amore librorum et institutione dictæ bibliothecæ tractatum pulcherrimum*"—a sentence of Trithemius printed only in the Paris edition and the basis of the Paris title, "*Tractatus pulcherrimus de amore librorum.*"

After the title page there is a prefatory Latin letter from James to Sir Thomas Bodley, a short account of Richard de Bury by Bale, followed by an extract from another writer.¹ The text does not follow the Paris edition but is based on an examination of several manuscripts. There were probably six of these, possibly others, for in James's *Ecloga*, or manuscript catalogue published the next year after his edition of the Philobiblon, he specifies six manuscripts of the Philobiblon then in Oxford and Cambridge. Five of them are still there, and two of these five, the Magdalen manuscript and a Balliol manuscript (No. CCLXIII), may be dated as early as 1400. None of them, however, are of the very first order of value, though capable of yielding a good text. That he set high value upon the Magdalen manuscript is visible in many places, where he gives it determining weight. A remarkable instance occurs at the ending of the nine-

¹ It is "a MS. note of [T]homas taken from Chambre's life of the [A]llen's in his copy of Bale, Bishop," Thomas's Ed., p. lvi.

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teenth chapter, where he adds to the regular ending the evidently spurious Magdalen ending, unsupported by any other manuscripts. His text, though abounding in errors, is a vast improvement on the earlier editions. It must be admitted that he made substantial use of the available manuscripts, even if his work was hurried and uncritical, nor need we grudge the portly editor the commendation of Hearne, "*in libello perpurgando multum sudavit.*"

Fabricius¹ states that the Philobiblon was printed again the next year (1600) in London. Apart from this statement no trace of such an edition is anywhere to be met with.

The fifth edition, accordingly, is that of Melchior Goldast, printed in Frankfort in 1610. In this the Philobiblon (or "Philobiblion," as Goldast styles it) appears as one of a collection of tractates and letters made up into one volume, entitled *Philologicarum Epistolarum Centuria Una*. It is a small, thick octavo of over five hundred pages, in which the Philobiblon occupies pp. 400-500. The typography of the book is poor and uninteresting. Abbreviations are used very irregularly. Some pages are sprinkled with them and only twenty-two are entirely clear. The text is a reprint of the Paris edition of 1500, as is evident not only from the text itself but also from the prefixed extract of Trithemius and the dedicatory preface of Ascensius to Burellus, both of which are reproduced. Printers' mistakes are frequent. An example taken from the numbering of consecutive pages is 429, 440, 441, 432, 443. Nowhere in Goldast's

¹ Bib. Med. et Inf. Lat., I, 307.

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preface is there any pretence of having used a manuscript or of any editorial labor beyond the compilation of the volume.

The sixth edition is also Goldast's, printed at Frankfort in 1614. Except for the title and some preliminary matter,

Sixth Edition,
Frankfort, 1614;
Goldast's.

it is an exact duplicate of the edition of 1610, of which it is evidently an additional issue rather than a reprint. Goldast's preface of 1610 is omitted and the *præfatuncula* of the printer is different. The other preliminary matter is the old matter reprinted, as appears from the word "*Appollodorus*" in the *Catalogus* of 1610, which is corrected to "*Apollodorus*" in 1614. In the Philobiblon itself, the size of the pages, the paging, and the type are identically as in the edition of 1610. The Philobiblon begins with the same page and runs in precisely the same way, page by page and line by line, with all the abbreviations, errors in numbering pages, and variations in chapter headings as in the preceding edition.

The seventh edition was printed at Leipsic in 1674. The whole volume is a reprint of the edition of 1610, except for the preface and part of the title page. The

Seventh Edition,
Leipsic, 1674;
Conringius's
Goldast.

Philobiblon runs page by page as in the issue of 1610, but with fewer abbreviations, clearer printing, and correction of errors in the paging. An additional preface by Hermann Conringius is prefixed to the volume.

The eighth edition is part of a double volume edited by Joachimus Joannes Maderus and printed in Helmstadt, the first volume in 1702 and the second in 1703. Properly

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speaking, Maderus edited the first volume and Joannes Andreas Schmidt (or "I. A. S. D.,"¹ as it is on the title page) the second volume, whose title begins, "*De Bibliothecis Nova Accessio Collectione Maderiana Adiuncta a I. A. S. D.*" The book is a stout quarto, printed in plain Roman text, free from abbreviations. The Philobiblon occupies sixty-six pages at the opening of the second volume, and is reprinted from the edition of 1674.

Eighth Edition,
Helmstadt, 1703;
Schmidt's
Goldast.

The ninth edition was printed in London in 1832. It is an English version of the Cologne edition of 1473. The translator was anonymous but is known to have been John Bellingham Inglis. Mr. Inglis labours under the heavy disadvantage of having to translate a corrupt text. Aside from this his translation, although painstaking and in places full of spirit, is apt to stay on the mechanical level. Oftentimes the Latin cannot be said to be really translated, but rather reclothed in Latinized English, and at other times it plainly reveals misapprehension of the meaning of his original. He added copious explanatory notes, some of them valuable and others both irrelevant and tedious. They show a singularly marked anti-ecclesiastical animus, which constantly tempts the editor to leave off explaining and begin inveighing. His preface is interesting but inaccurate. In one paragraph, for example, he makes an unfounded charge of plagiarism against Thomas à Kempis, assumes from this charge and without a shred of evidence that à Kempis used an old manuscript of the Philobiblon, and that from this

Ninth Edition,
Inglis's
Translation,
London, 1832.

¹ See Morhof's Polyhistor., Lib. I, Cap. 17. The D. is for *Doctor*.

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manuscript the Cologne edition was probably printed, and then argues backward that this "is in favour of" the "genuineness" of the Cologne text, "though it is badly printed and in some cases difficult to read." A worse farrago of mistakes would be hard to compound. It is not surprising that Inglis concludes his preface by saying, "It was not thought necessary to reprint the Latin text, as the few who take an interest in it may find it elsewhere, and it may perhaps yet appear from the hand of a more competent editor."

A proposed edition of the *Philobiblon*, based on the manuscripts, was mentioned by Surtees in 1816.¹ Inglis saw in the "Bibliographical and Retrospective Miscellany" for 1830 notice of a forthcoming translation. The same notice is in Brunet's catalogue for 1828. Thomas Lowndes, in the "Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature" (London, 1834), announced as "preparing for publication" a new edition "with an English translation, notes, and various readings, by Edward R. Poole, B.A." In 1850, Mr. W. S. Gibson announced a new translation for publication,² and a second edition of Inglis's translation was said to be preparing in 1868.³ No edition indicated in any of these notices has appeared.

The tenth edition was published in Paris in 1856. The book makes an agreeably printed small octavo of over three hundred pages. Besides its title page, dedication, and preface, it contains an introduction, an annotated French version of the *Philobiblon*, a collection of "Pièces Justificatives" or biographical extracts from Latin chronicles

¹ Hist. and Ant. of the Palatine County of Durham, I, p. clix.

² Gentleman's Magazine, II, 346.

³ Notes and Queries, Oct. 17, 1868.

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and from Rymer's *Fœdera*, and at the end the Latin text of the Philobiblon. The editor was M. Hippolyte Cocheris of the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris. The title page begins, "Philobiblion, Excellent Tenth Edition, Paris, 1856; Cocheris. Traité Sur L'Amour Des Livres par Richard de Bury." Then, "Traduit pour la première fois en Français. Précédé d'une Introduction, Et suivi du Texte latin revu sur les anciennes éditions et les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale." M. Cocheris's industry in his edition was remarkable. He gathered about the Philobiblon a mass of valuable explanatory matter which must have cost him prolonged research. But his edition has no claim whatever to reliability in point of the recension of the text and shows only a moderate accuracy in its translation. Even the biographical, bibliographical, and historical matter which he has added is erroneous in many ways. The text is not in any sense based, or "revu," as the title page professes, on the three manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Impériale. It is not a recension at all, but substantially a reprint of one of the Goldast editions (apparently that of 1703), with variant readings from the five editions and the three manuscripts known to the editor printed at the foot of each page beneath the text. Why M. Cocheris should collate the manuscripts at all, if he had no intention of using them for the text, is hard to imagine. Even the collation he made has the misfortune of being unreliable. Besides the testimony of Mr. Ernest Thomas to this effect, I may add that I have found the same to be true in collating two of the three manuscripts, which I have compared at every point with M. Cocheris's readings. The

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other profession of the title page, that the text is based on the early editions, is likewise valueless. To begin with, M. Cocheris makes scarcely any, if any, use of them in constructing the text; and to end with, their worthlessness in the presence of at least two of his three manuscripts reveals at a glance his utter lack of critical insight. His general attitude in regard to the text is best told in his own preface :

“ Le texte du Philobiblon est en effet très-défectueux, et les différentes éditions, ainsi que les manuscrits que j’ai collationnés, sont remplis de fautes de toute espèce, commises aussi bien par l’auteur que par les scribes et les imprimeurs. Comme il m’était impossible de distinguer celles que je devais respecter de celles que je devais enlever, j’ai préféré conserver à l’ouvrage son cachet barbare, et indiquer en notes toutes les variantes qu’offraient les textes que j’avais consultés.

“ J’ai cru devoir suivre, à part quelques exceptions fort rares, l’édition princeps de 1475, parce qu’elle se rapportait au plus grand nombre de manuscrits et aux éditions de 1500, de 1600, de 1610, et de 1702.”

This surely has a humorous side. The editor, knowing the text to be corrupt, indiscriminately charges its corruption on printed editions and manuscripts alike and holds Richard de Bury as responsible for them as the copyists and printers were. Then, confessing inability to distinguish what readings ought to be retained from what ought to be rejected, M. Cocheris dramatically resolves to preserve the “cachet barbare,” the barbaric stamp of the style, and so proceeds to reprint a hopelessly discredited text. At the

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bottom of the page he registers readings good and bad from other editions, mixed with excerpts of what in the main is true text taken from his three manuscripts. The text he prints is, according to the editor's intention, the earliest printed text, that of the "édition princeps de 1475," because it "agrees with the greatest number of manuscripts and with the editions of 1500, 1600, 1610, and 1702." Observe in passing the carelessness of M. Cocheris, for it is very characteristic. The "édition princeps de 1475" should be 1473; there is no edition of "1600," and "1702" should be 1703. His reasons for following the edition of 1473 break down as soon as inspected. The *editio princeps* does not "agree with the greatest number of manuscripts," nor with any manuscript of value. Of the three collated by M. Cocheris, only one (No. 2454), and that the worst of the three, shows a general resemblance, while the other two, whose text follows the genuine tradition, are of a radically different type. If comparison be instituted between the *editio princeps* and the thirty-five manuscripts known to-day, the case against M. Cocheris will be found still stronger. As for the argument he advances based on the agreement of the *editio princeps* with certain later editions, scarcely any refutation is necessary, for all he cites, save that of "1600," which I take to mean the edition of 1599, can be shown to reproduce the *editio princeps*. They are as bad or as good as their source, and as that is worthless when judged by the manuscripts, so are they. As for the edition of 1599, its readings are occasionally preferred by Cocheris as helps in making the French translation, but they do not affect his text.

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If we pass from the text to the translation matters are better. He is still beset with the same fundamental difficulty as that which crippled Inglis; that is, he has no proper text to translate. But his version surpasses that of Inglis at least in two particulars. It is more fluent and more vivacious. Rarely does it drag. It is at times penetrated with a fine sense of fitness, and an almost instinctive hesitation before obscure places, which keeps M. Cocheris from making several mistakes into which Inglis falls. An instance worth looking up is his treatment of the difficult phrase in the prologue, "*decidit et fit Assub*," both in his translation and in the note discussing it (p. 8). However, the translation, as a whole, cannot be credited with a high degree of accuracy. Whether it is equal to Inglis's in this respect or not, is hard to say.

Cocheris's notes are his most valuable contribution. Their two defects are their occasional inaccuracy and their want of all proportion to the importance of the matter explained. Trifles are expatiated upon at great length and things of real importance barely noted or missed altogether. Similar are his misconceptions in the introduction. Only a few instances need be cited. Richard de Bury is said to have been made "doyen de l'église de Galles" (p. viii), or Dean of "Wales" instead of Wells, Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge is placed in Canterbury (p. xix), and there are said to be two Paris editions of 1500 (p. xxiii), whereas there is but one. His acquaintance with the sources of the text is confessedly confined to the three manuscripts cited and to the editions of 1473, 1500, 1599, 1610, and 1703. The editions of 1483 and 1832 were inaccessible to him and

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of those of 1614 and 1674 he makes no mention. The limitation of his view, by reason of the lack of a knowledge of the course of the printed text and of the relations of the manuscript sources to the question, mars his whole bibliographical account.

The eleventh edition is an American one and was published in Albany in 1861. It is a rather common-looking small octavo of over two hundred and sixty pages. No editing, in any proper sense, has been attempted. The book is a piratical compilation of Cocheris and Inglis, made by Samuel Hand. It contains Cocheris's text and Inglis's translation paired on opposite pages, Cocheris's introduction translated from the French, mistakes and all, Inglis's notes nearly entire, and a few worthless notes by Hand himself. There is no advance of any sort in knowledge of the *Philobiblon*, unless we account as such Hand's adherence to the correct "*Philobiblon*" of Inglis against the "*Philobiblion*" of Cocheris.

Eleventh Edition, Albany, 1861; Hand's Compilation.

The twelfth edition was published in London in 1888. It is a cheap reprint of the translation of Inglis and forms part of the closing volume of the "*Universal Library*" series edited by Professor Henry Morley.

Twelfth Edition, London, 1888; Morley's Reprint of Inglis.

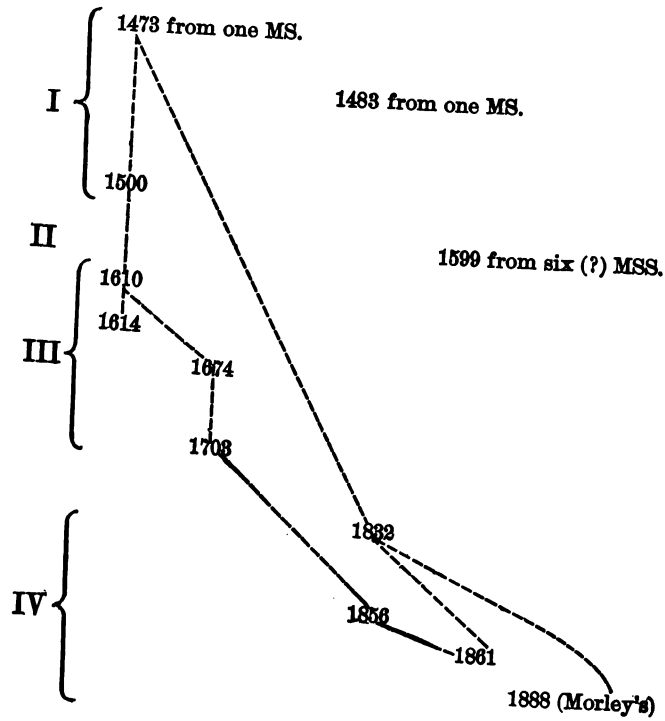
The foregoing review of the separate editions shows clearly the course of the printed text. Two editions, those of Spires (1483) and Oxford (1599), stand outside of this course, and may be disregarded here. The Spires edition has not had a particle of influence upon any other. The Oxford edition has had none, save for

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a few of its readings, followed by Cocheris in translating. The other ten editions, however, form a continuous series. The Cologne edition of 1473 is the source of the Paris edition of 1500—probably exclusively so. The Paris text is duplicated in Goldast's Frankfort edition of 1610 and again in the Frankfort edition of 1614. The edition of 1610 is repeated in the text of the Leipsic edition of 1674, which in turn is repeated in the Helmstadt edition of 1703. Then comes a long lull, lasting until 1832, when Inglis translates the Cologne edition of 1473, thus keeping in the traditional line so far as the character of the Latin text is concerned. Cocheris, in 1856, reprints a text taken bodily from the same general source. It professes to follow the edition of 1473, save in rare instances, and this is not inconsistent with its being a reprint of the edition of 1703, which is copied through 1674 and 1610 from the Paris text of 1500, which is so close a copy of the text of 1473. The edition of 1861 combines those of 1832 and 1856, and the edition of 1888 reprints the version of 1832. There is no break whatever in the whole series, and it starts from one source. That source is the Cologne text of 1473, or, allowing for a possible slight manuscript use in the Paris text of 1500, at least the Cologne-Paris text, which amounts to the same thing after all.

Such is the history of the printed text. There are three varieties, the dominant Cologne-Paris tradition, and the unique editions of Spires and Oxford. The three differ greatly, and not one of them is satisfactory. Each of the three types goes back to a manuscript source. The

General View of the Printed Editions.



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Cologne edition of 1473 is evidently printed directly from a single manuscript, and the Paris edition of 1500, even allowing for some slight use of another manuscript, reproduces the Cologne text. So much for the first type. The Spires edition of 1483 is known to be based on one manuscript of inferior quality, which was further vitiated by the editor's arbitrary alterations. The Oxford edition is based on a comparison of several manuscripts, six or more. If there were no manuscripts extant which would yield a better text than the printed editions, our best course would be to adopt the imperfect but enduring Oxford edition. But fortunately this is not necessary, as there is abundant manuscript material from which the text may be constructed with a high degree of accuracy.

MANUSCRIPTS

1. *Earlier Notices*

THE earliest notice of a collection of manuscripts of the *Philobiblon* occurs in the *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, which was compiled by Thomas James and published in 1600 in Oxford. One of the six he mentions is apparently lost. It belonged to the private library of Lord Lumley, and is possibly one of the seven manuscripts now in the British Museum. The other five are still in their old depositories, four of them in Oxford and one in Cambridge. Of the four in Oxford, one is the Magdalen College manuscript (VI 164), which appears to have been the basis of James's edition of the *Philobiblon*. Another is at Lincoln College (LXXXI 79). A third is one of the

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two at Balliol, probably the one marked CCLXIII, as the other one (CLXVI) is a late fifteenth century copy of German origin and of a different type from the text followed in James's edition. The fourth is at All Souls' (XXXI). The fifth is at Cambridge. It is one of the Parker manuscripts (456-6) in the library of Corpus Christi, formerly Saint Benet's College. The Magdalen and Balliol (CCLXIII) manuscripts date back to 1400. The Lincoln copy is put at 1420, that at All Souls' at 1450, and the Parker manuscript at Cambridge is also of the fifteenth century.

Another notice occurs in a foot-note on the thirty-ninth page of the third volume of "The Librarian," published in London by Savage in 1809. The Philobiblon is there said to be "in manuscript in the Cottonian library, in the Royal library, and other libraries in Oxford and Cambridge." The Cottonian and Royal libraries were then already in the British Museum and their manuscript contents catalogued. They now contain three manuscripts of the Philobiblon. The Oxford and Cambridge libraries had also increased their copies, notably by the accession to the Bodleian of the Digby manuscript (No. 147), so that Savage's notice may indicate as many as a dozen manuscripts accessible in England in 1809.

The next notice is in the bibliographical part of Cocheris's introduction to his edition of the Philobiblon (Paris, 1856). Besides the three Paris manuscripts which he consulted, he mentions fourteen others on the authority of various catalogues. They are the Harleian (3224) and the Cottonian (Cott. App. IV) in the British Museum; one at Oxford, in the Bodleian (Digby, 147); one at

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Trinity College, Oxford; one at St. John's, Oxford (CLXXII 2); one at Gresham College, London; one at Sidney Sussex, Cambridge (Δ 2, 16)—not "Canterbury," as Cocheris writes; one at "St. Benedict's," now Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Parker MSS. 456-6); one in Bishop Cosin's library at Durham; one in the Royal library at Brussels (No. 738); one in the University library at Basle (A. VI 34); one, a lost manuscript, known to have belonged to Fabricius in 1734; one said to be in the library of Corpus Christi, Oxford (CLXVII), and one said to be in Venice. Two of these seventeen were not where Cocheris supposed them to be when he wrote, for the Gresham College manuscript had been in the British Museum since 1830 or 1831, where it still remains as No. 335 of the Arundel MSS., and the manuscript numbered CLXVII in Corpus Christi, Oxford, had long been missing, as Coxe's catalogue of 1852 testifies. Of the seventeen, fifteen (including Arundel 335 in the British Museum and the Venice manuscript) are where they were when Cocheris wrote. I have been able to trace the Venice manuscript to the Library of St. Mark in that city, where it is catalogued as Cod. XLI, Cl. I, of the Latin manuscripts. The other two of the seventeen are still untraced, perhaps untraceable. One is the lost manuscript of Fabricius, and the other the lost manuscript (CLXVII) of Corpus Christi, Oxford.

Setting aside Lord Lumley's manuscript as untraced or lost, there is only one manuscript in James's list which is known to Cocheris. It is the Corpus Christi manuscript in Cambridge. The two notices accordingly record twenty-one manuscripts, or twenty-two, if Lord Lumley's

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be counted. Savage's notice in 1809, though not specifying particular copies, indicates some not known either by James or Cocheris. Accordingly it is safe to say that the three notices taken together indicate from twenty-five to thirty manuscripts.

The next notice is from the pen of Mr. Ernest C. Thomas, in the "Library Chronicle" for October-November, 1885 (London, J. Davy & Sons). He writes: "The inquiries I have been making during the last eighteen months enable me to increase the list of known MSS. to twenty-eight" (p. 131). To these he has since added others.

2. Manuscripts Now Known

The whole number of manuscripts of whose existence I am able to find any notice is apparently forty-three. Thirty-five of these are now accessible in various libraries, twenty-two in England, and the other thirteen on the Continent. Twenty-five of the thirty-five (including the twenty-two in England, and the three in Paris) I have personally examined and have obtained full accounts of nearly all the others from trustworthy sources. In addition there appear to be eight lost manuscripts. Apart from three others mentioned by Thomas,¹ they are the manuscript formerly in the Royal library at Erfurt in Germany,

¹ Thomas (p. lxvii) mentions a unique MS. once belonging to Reimmann, the German bibliographer, and described in his *Bibliotheca Histor.-Lit.* ed. sec., 1743, p. 147, and two others mentioned in Hearne, one said by Dr. Thomas Caius to have been the copy given by De Bury to Durham College, and another which his rival Dr. John Caius says he owned, asserting that it was accompanied by a copy of the foundation deed of Durham College. (See page 92 of this account.)

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which has been cut out of the volume which contained it, the manuscript once owned by Fabricius, not corresponding to any one now known, the manuscript marked CLXVII in the Corpus Christi (Oxford) catalogue and there said to be "*diu desideratus*," possibly the same thing as CCXXII in the same collection, Lord Lumley's manuscript mentioned by James, and the Trinity College (Oxford) manuscript noticed by Cocheris. Whether any or all of the last three belong to the thirty-five accessible manuscripts I do not know. If so, the total must be reduced from forty-three perhaps to forty. The extant manuscripts will be described separately in order to show their relationship and the consequent evidence they afford as to the true source of the text.

The classification presented in this edition is based on the character of the text and on the source and date of the various copies. In this way the true tradition will clearly appear and the corrupted text be easily separated from it. This result I have reached by a personal examination of twenty-five manuscripts, and by means of authentic information regarding nearly all the others. Four manuscripts I have collated entire as the basis of the text and have classed nearly all the others by a means of cross-readings in about seventy crucial passages of the text, as well as by comparison of the headings, the collected and separate chapter titles, and the colophons. The date and source of nearly every copy has been newly and carefully determined.

The manuscripts are described separately below, arranged chronologically as being the way most suitable

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for revealing the course of the true text. Except where expressly stated to be otherwise, every manuscript described is written in single column on parchment or velum and forms one out of several treatises bound up in one volume, and is complete in its contents—that is, contains the prologue with a list of collected chapter titles appended, twenty chapters of text, each headed with a title, and at the end the colophon in its complete form, as follows:

Explicit Philobiblon domini Ricardi de Aungervile,
cognominati de Bury, quondam episcopi Dunelmensis.
Completus est autem tractatus iste in manerio nostro de Auk-
lande vicesimo quarto die Januarii
anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo quarto,
ætatis nostræ quinquagesimo octavo præcise completo,
pontificatus vero nostri anno undecimo finiente,
ad laudem Dei feliciter et Amen.

I. Earlier than 1400 (A and B of my marking).

There are only two which can be assigned with certainty to the fourteenth century. They are:

A. (1) The MS. in the British Museum marked Royal 8 F. XIV, given in the Museum catalogue under the heading "Holcot," and there incorrectly stated to be of the fifteenth century. Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, the Keeper of the MSS., assigns it to the latter part of the fourteenth century. It is of English origin. In this large folio volume Philobiblon is the third of eighteen treatises and occupies fourteen leaves or twenty-eight pages (ff. ⁶⁹/₇₀, ⁸²/₈₃). It is headed, in an ink paler than the text: "*Incipit*

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prologus in Philobiblon Ricardi dunelmensis episcopi quem librum composuit Robertus holcote de ordine prædicatorum, sub nomine dicti episcopi." Mr. Thompson pronounces the heading to be in the same hand as the body of the MS. At the end of the treatise is the following full colophon in the same hand as the body of the text: "*Explicit philobiblon domini Ricardi de aungervile cognominati de Bury quondam episcopi Dimolmensis completus est autem tractatus iste in Manerio nostro de aukeland xxiiij^o die Jenuarii Anno domini m^occc^oxlviij^{to} Etatis nostræ quinquagesimo octavo præcise completo pontificatus vero nostri anno xi^o finiente ad laudem dei feliciter.*" As "*feliciter*" in the MS. has no period after it, contrary to the careful punctuation of the copyist elsewhere, it looks as though he failed to finish his sentence with the "*et Amen*" common in such formulas and occurring in the colophon in other MSS.

The writing is well executed in small, neat minuscules and runs about forty-five lines to the page. Words erroneously repeated in whole or in part are in almost every instance carefully marked by the original copyist by a dot underneath each letter. Marginal notes are rare, some in the original hand and some apparently in a later hand. Only one erasure of importance occurs [*Jovis* substituted later for the correct *Junonis*. See p. 103 of the Latin text in Vol. I].

The errors in this manuscript, excluding slight slips in form, which scarcely affect the sense, are these:

1. *Words misrepresented.* *Catonis* for *Cratonis*, 18;¹ *reperi et* for *reperiet*, 19; *aperit* for *perit*, 19; *impensione* for

¹ The Arabic numbers refer to pages of the Latin text in Vol. I.

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parvipensione, 28; *raptastis* for *reptastis*, 30; *libertatum* for *sacerdotum*, 32; *statum* for *statim*, 33; *miseria* for *miseriordia*, 34; *sanus* for *suavis*, 35; *homines* for *omnes*, 35; *habitatio* for *cohabitatio*, 36; *arenæ* for *araneæ*, 37; *inconstantem* for *in constantem*, 39; *Saltor* for *Sartor*, 39; *adesse* for *ad esse*, 41; *turpis* for *turris*, 41; *dissendisset* for *descendisset*, 41; *superna*, with lacuna following, for *supervacanea*, 49; *hostium* for *ostium*, 50; *instructis* for *instruitis*, 52; *frenesis* for *fronesis*, 56; *obnixæ* for *obnoxia*, 60; *linguis* for *lignis*, 61; *statuerant* for *latuerant*, 64; *concedimus* for *consedimus*, 64; *deliteret* for *delitesceret*, 69; *inmetiri* for *immeriti*, 79; *paratum* for *parant*, 80; *gregis* for *Græcis* (which in MS. would be *grecis*), 81; *vincula* for *vitula*, 84; *hereos*, 88; *oclusionis* for *conclusionis*, 89; *illius* for *nullius*, 90; *scolarium* for *scalarum*, 93; *pro iniquo* for *propinquo*, 98; *sublimari* for *fulminari*, 98; *singillatim* for *sigillatim*, 98; *omni petenti* for *omnipotenti*, 100; *munera* for *mineræ*, 103; *animabus* for *animalibus*, 104; *et* for *ut*, 104; *seniorum* for *sanorum*, 106; *dicebat* for *decebat*, 108; *policrotudinem*, 110; *enethia*, 110; *supponens* for *suppositiones*, 119; *addicimus* for *adjudicimus*, 125; *conservemur* for *conversemur*, 128; *confessorem* for *consessore*, 130. Also the more marked variations in *deitatem* for *divinitatem*, 56; *seditiosis* for *tædiosis*, 65; *Sibilla* for *Saba*, 71; *sæpe* for *frequenter*, 94; *igitur* for *sibi*, 107; *sollicite* for *dissolute*, 114; and *quia* for *per*, 129.

2. *Omissions.* These are extremely few and, except in three instances, are confined to single words. They are, *tandem*, on p. 13; *in*, 37; *paupertatis*, 50; *librorum*, 61; *capitulo*, 62; *bonitate*, 63; *et*, 85; *leges*, 89; *est dictum*, 101;

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ademptaque penitus corporis libertate librorum legati[onibus], 104; *oblivioni*, 105; *de*, 123; *eis*, 124; *ad*, 124; *corpore*, 129; *reperire*, 129; *nos*, 130; and a serious one of fifteen words on p. 104.

3. *Superfluities*. As a rule all words repeated by mistake and other superfluities are carefully indicated. Two instances, however, are left uncorrected, the superfluous *scripturarum* in *contemplatio scripturarum literarum*, 102, and the patched up *exphabetum* in *alphabetum exphabetum expendit*, 111.

Outside these three sets of errors the text may be considered practically perfect, and surpasses any of the others which I have collated in its comparative freedom from positive errors, omissions, and superfluities. Its value is also enhanced by a number of instances wherein it yields the true reading against all the others. Such an instance is *suffertur*, 35, where the others have *transfertur*, which destroys both the sense of the passage and the force of the antithesis intended between *suffertur* and *differtur*. *Terra*, 37, for *terram* is minute, but illustrates the fidelity of the MS. to the Vulgate, from which *terra* is quoted. Others are, *nos* for *non*, 38; *conficere* for *commiscere*, 42; *invigilet*, 50; *resipiscite* for *respicite*, 53; and other valuable readings where it stands almost alone, as *innisus*, 51; *devirginatum*, 70; *evirare*, 100. Accordingly, on the ground of its early date, as well as its general completeness, perfection, and intelligibility, I have rated this the best manuscript of the Philobiblon, and marked it A.

B. (2) The Digby manuscript in the Bodleian library, numbered 147 of that collection. It is of English origin,

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and is assigned by Mr. Macray and Mr. Madan to 1370-1380. It is a small quarto volume of 206 ff. and contains thirty-four treatises, of which Philobiblon is the second (ff. 9-28). The volume was not acquired by the Bodleian until 1634 (see Macray's note in his catalogue), and therefore was not among those to which James had access for his edition of 1598-9. There is no heading to the prologue, but at the top of the page is the entry: "*volumen ecclesie beate Mariæ de Merton juxta Londonum.*" In the table of contents for the volume Philobiblon is entitled: "*Philobiblon Ricardi de Bury episcopi Dunelmensis.*" The MS. is written in a rather small hand, varying at times from uniformity. The copyist shows some ignorance in technical and foreign words. The corrector's hand is sparingly used. The colophon at the end is almost exactly as in A. The only variations of the slightest note are *Angervile*, *Dunelmensis*, and *etc.* added after *feliciter*.

The errors in this manuscript, though more marked than those in A, are not very serious. They indicate dullness and occasional carelessness on the part of the scribe, but nothing worse. The number of words misrepresented is about one-half more than in A. The number of omissions of single words is thirty-one, and there are eight longer omissions of from two words to a whole sentence. These occur on pages 10, 23, 26, 37, 40, 47, 60, and 75. There are eight superfluous single words, *in*, 17; *hostis*, 22; *esse*, 36; *et*, 40; *ille*, 54; *habere*, 88; *ostensum*, 94; *per*, 101.

In several places it is our sole or main reliance for the true reading. The most striking instances are, *suavis*, 35;

Thesaurus & quod thesaurus
 deprecabilis pūne potissime sic in
 sapientia et pūe libro. Rubrica pma
 quā omēs homines p īstrumēto nante dīp-
 dant eūtas nūdi cūstodit dūmāe mī-
 nīe/auq nīpētū lapidē pāpī cīlīstīnt/
 eūq cōmpacōne argēntū lucet/et aurū
 dīrīdī cōīguā pīe aūna. dūlī pīlōndō cō-
 nēbrīstīc dīstī pōl et līma/ōnīq dūlōnē mī-
 tabīlī amāstīnt gūstū mēl et mārīna. &
 balōr sapīd nōn mārīstīnt & cōīpīstīnt
 uīnō affīdīnt/ōnīc dūmāe cūstodīnt ab hā-
 bēnt. & mūnīq cōlōstī lībīlīstīnt dūmāe
 dīstīntīnt a pūe hūmīd ut mētm nōnālī
 pūchās usq cūlīd. & cō mēllīstīnt cōlī-
 stīe alīmōnīa quā quī odīt ad hīc cōstīnt/
 quā quī bībūt ad hīc pānt/et līngūstīnt
 aīd armōnīa lēstīnt quā quī audīt nullā-
 tēntī cōstīnt. & cō mōz mōdīstīnt
 et rēgīdā pīdī quā opīnt nōn pīrābīnt.
 pō et rēgīnt rēgnāt et lēgīd cōndīstīnt
 dīstīnt pō dīpīnt dīstīnt nōnālī/et mārī-
 nē nīgēntīe cōqz sīgēntīe dīstīnt pūntī cōstīnt
 dīstīnt apīnt cōstīnt hōnōrīstīnt/et qz
 pūntī pānt et cōmīnt pūntī quīstīnt et
 cōstīnt līntīnt in līntīnt et cōmīnt

Istolitey est sancti victoris parisiensis quicūqz
 eum furatus fuit ut celauit ut tūmū dīnt
 leuēt anathema sīt amen. O.

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omnes, 35; *in constantem*, 39; *delitesceret*, 69; *propinquo*, 98; *consessorem*, 130.

On the whole it is somewhat inferior to A, though of about equal age. I have therefore marked it B.

For the sake of convenience I append here the description of the other two manuscripts, which, with A and B, have been collated for the text of this edition.

C. (3) The MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, numbered 15168 (formerly marked St. Victor 797). Cocheris assumed it to be of the fourteenth century. M. Léopold Delisle writes me that he thinks it may be as early as 1380-1400. Mr. Maunde Thompson, however, assigns it after careful and repeated examination to about 1440, stating that it is "as fifteenth century as it can be." I may add, as of weight in favour of the fifteenth century date, the fact that the colophon is absolutely lacking. Now in all the MSS. of undisputed date earlier than 1420 there is no instance where the genuine colophon is entirely missing, while the general fact is that the earlier the manuscript the completer is the colophon, and that late manuscripts are without it.

The volume is a rather stout, small quarto, bound in wood covered with parchment. It contains 209 leaves and three fly-leaves in addition marked A, B, and C. On leaf B is the entry "*St. Victor 797*," and on the verso of leaf C is written, in a hand later than the writing of the Philobiblon, a list of the various treatises which compose the volume. Philobiblon comes first in the list as in the volume (ff. 1-45), and its authorship is attributed to Richard de Bury. The only heading at the beginning of

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the treatise is "*Incipit Prologus Philobiblon.*" The writing is in a small and not ungraceful hand, between the minuscule and the cursive, and is executed in a variable brownish black ink. The hand of only one corrector is visible. Marginal corrections are rare, but erasures, rewritings, and re-entries of various sorts are not infrequent in the text. All of them are in a black ink.

The text of the MS. is satisfactory. The number of instances where it misrepresents single words or short phrases is no greater than in A, and about one-half less than in B. Erroneously repeated words are less carefully marked, however. It has five superfluous words inserted, being about equal to B in this and almost equal to A. Its weakest place is in its omissions, for here it is plainly inferior both to A and B. There are twenty-seven instances where single words are omitted, and nineteen where from two to eight words have been dropped, making several notable breaks in the sense. They occur on pp. 44, 46, 50, 53, 58, 60, 79, 80, 85, 86, 97, 99, 101, 103, 105, 120, 121, and 128 of the Latin text in this edition.

Its text, however, reads as though copied with intelligence, despite these relatively serious omissions. Apart from them, it might perhaps be judged superior to B. It is of service in several important places, among them the following: *sacerdotum*, 32; *eclipsarat*, 85; *scalarum*, 93; and *sigillatim*, 98. Its readings generally agree with A, where A and B differ. I have marked it C.

D. (4) The MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, numbered 3352. Cocheris regarded it as of the fourteenth century and M. Delisle thinks that, like C, it may be as

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early as 1380-1400. Mr. Maunde Thompson examined it with great care and states that its date is about 1430. It lacks the colophon, a fact which bears in favour of the later date.

The volume is a large, fairly written folio bound in red morocco and stamped with the arms of the Colbert family. It contains two treatises, Philobiblon being the second (ff. 89-103). In what looks like a later hand there is entered at the top of f. 89 in large red letters "*philobiblon olchoti anglici.*" Just above the prologue is the heading, "*Incipit prologus in philobiblon Ricardi dunelnensis episcopi.*"

Its errors in words misrepresented are a little more frequent than in B, or more than a half more frequent than in A or C. It has about eight superfluous words, an insignificant increase in this over A, B, or C. Its omissions embrace twenty-three instances of single words and seven phrases of from three to ten words. In this it is worse than A and not notably different from B and C. It furnishes no aid in any instance against ABC in combination, though there are some crucial places where it gives substantial help, as in *Oratonis*, 18; *devirginatum*, 70; *Saba*, 71; and *sigillatim*, 98. In general its readings agree with A and C, when these differ from B. I have marked it D.

It is worthy of note that ACD are closely of one type, and so far as my cross-readings go in the other MSS. of English origin, the fact seems clear that they follow this type, to which indeed B also belongs, but as a slightly diverging variant.

As C and D were professedly the main basis of Cocheris's text, I felt it necessary to collate them entire, although it



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is not certain that others of the earlier English MSS. besides A and B are not their equals or superiors. However, of the five MSS. next in antiquity to A and B, the Magdalen MS. (VI, 164) is incomplete and carelessly copied in places, and the St. John's, Oxford, MS. (CLXII, 2) lacks one whole chapter and parts of two others. The other three look more promising. They are MS. 15, C. 16, and the Harleian MS. 3224 in the British Museum and the Balliol College, Oxford, MS. numbered CCLXIII, 124b. But the utmost help they could yield would be so slight as to be practically nothing, for there are very few words in the whole Philobiblon left in serious doubt by a text accurately drawn from A and B with subsidiary help from C and D. All five of them are in the line of the consensus of ABCD, and shed no light at all on the few remaining puzzles, such as *hereos* and *enechia*.

II. *Approximately 1400.*

(5) The paper MS. in Balliol College, Oxford, numbered CCLXIII in Coxe's catalogue, and there said to be of the early fifteenth century. Mr. Macray, however, examined it and determined its date as 1390-1400. In this volume Philobiblon is the seventh in order of nine treatises and occupies ff. 124-137. It is written in a clear, steady hand, in double column, forty-one lines to the column. Occasional blank spaces are left for omitted words. It has no heading. The colophon is accurately copied, but with a little slovenliness, as seen in *Dilnelmensis* for *du-nelmensis* and *ladem* for *laudem*.

(6) The Royal MS. 15, C. 16, in the British Museum, and assigned by the catalogue to the fifteenth century. Mr.

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Maunde Thompson gives the date as approximately 1400. Philobiblon is the second of six treatises in this very large volume, occupying ff. 59v.-71. It is written in heavy, solid letters in double column and without breaks between chapters. Marginal corrections occur occasionally. It has no heading. The colophon is complete, excepting the omission of *lxiio* before *præcise*.

(7) The Harleian MS. 3224 in the British Museum, assigned by the catalogue to the fifteenth century. Mr. Thompson assigns it to 1400. It is a small volume containing five treatises, Philobiblon being the third (ff. 67-110). In the general list of the treatises prefixed to the volume the title "*Philobiblon Ricardi episcopi dunelmensis*" occurs. Apart from this there is no title or heading. The colophon, which is greatly abbreviated, reads: "*Explicit Philobiblon domini Ricardi Almgervile, cognominati de Bury quondam Episcopi Dunelmensis.*"

(8) MS. VI 164 in Magdalen College, Oxford, assigned by Coxe's catalogue to the fifteenth century. Mr. Falconer Madan, of the Bodleian, and the Rev. H. A. Wilson, of Magdalen, after examination, assigned it to about 1400. It is not later than the first quarter of the fifteenth century, at any rate, and some things in it look even earlier than 1400. Philobiblon is the ninth of fourteen treatises, and occupies ff. 164-187. It has no heading, prologue, or list of collected chapter titles usual at the end of the prologue, but begins with the title of the first chapter and runs on continuously, sometimes without distinctness at the divisions between chapters. Some omissions occur in the copying of the separate chapter titles and there are

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various marks of carelessness in the copying throughout. In the nineteenth chapter all from "*ad ulterius deferendum*" to the end — nearly half of the chapter — is omitted, and in its place the copyist naively substitutes "*Hic multas conditiones circa librorum custodiam prætermitto eo quod mihi pro præsentī videatur inutile talia recitare*" (see vol. I, p. 124, of this edition). The colophon, copied in large letters, is much abbreviated. It reads, "*Explicit Philobiblon domini Ricardi de Aungervile cognominati de Bury quondam Episcopi Dimelmensis. Completus anno domini 1344^{to}, ætatis nostræ 58, pontificatus nostri undecimo.*" Although this manuscript is evidently derived from an excellent early source, its value has been impaired by the caprice and carelessness of its scribe. Two long passages of text, as mentioned above, are entirely omitted, and in place of one of them a spurious sentence is concocted by the scribe, the titles of chapters XVI and XVIII are clearly incomplete, a number of minor passages and single words are badly written, and in one case the scribe improperly prefixes to a couplet from Phocas, the grammarian, De Bury's statement of the citation as a line of poetry. His line is (see vol. I, p. 76, of this edition), "*Unde Phocas in prologo grammaticæ suæ scribit.*" Plain enough prose, if there ever was any.

The interest attaching to this manuscript is mainly due to the fact that it was used by James in preparing his edition of 1599 (see p. 46 of this volume).

(9) The MS. at St. John's, Oxford, numbered CLXXII 2 in Coxe's catalogue (but not indexed), and there assigned to the early part of the fifteenth century. Mr. Macray

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places it about 1400, "at the very beginning" of the century. Philobiblon is the first of fifteen treatises, occupying ff. 2-30. It is neatly written in a small hand. The heading to the prologue, well written in red letters with a blue initial, reads, "*Hic aurum tibi non valet ubi nitet philobiblon.*" I have used it on the title page of the second volume of this edition. The full colophon at the end is accurately copied. The text has one serious lacuna. All that follows "*professores immeriti quas*" in the ninth chapter (vol. I, p. 79), the whole of the tenth chapter, and the opening of the eleventh chapter up to "*tamen sedandas a jurisconsultis*" (vol. I, p. 88) is lacking — about one-fifteenth of the Philobiblon. There is also some disarrangement of the order of the leaves following this part of the manuscript. It looks as though one sheet (four pages) had fallen out and been lost and the volume put together again without sufficient care.

III. *From 1400 to 1430.*

(10) The MS. in Lincoln College, Oxford, numbered LXXXI 79 in Coxe's catalogue, and assigned to the opening of the fifteenth century. Mr. Macray places it about 1420. Philobiblon is the sixteenth of seventeen treatises, occupying ff. 79-93. It is the work of a French copyist. The writing is in double column on large leaves of rather inferior parchment, the ink wearing off in places. The treatise has no heading and ends with "*explicit tractatus qui vocatur Philobiblon,*" instead of the usual colophon.

(11) MS. IV of the Cottonian Appendix in the British Museum. This is a beautiful folio volume, well written

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throughout in a small hand. It contains five treatises, Philobiblon coming fourth (ff. 103-120). Mr. Thompson assigns it to 1425. It has no title. "*Philobiblon*" occurs in the heading to the collected chapter titles, though elsewhere the word is written correctly. There are a few marginal entries both in set and running hand. The full colophon is correctly copied with two variations (*autem* omitted, also "LXVIII" for LVIII!)

(12) The Harleian MS. 492 in the British Museum. Its date is approximately 1425. In this small volume Philobiblon is second of two treatises and occupies ff. 55-95. The writing is inferior and the copying careless. The preface has the following heading in red letters: "*Incipit prologus in philibiblon Ricardi dunelmensis episcopi, quem librum composuit d. Robertus Holcote de ordine prædicatorum sub nomine dicti episcopi.*" The form *philibiblon* persists in the preface and the heading to the collected chapter titles, but appears in proper form in the colophon. The colophon is copied in large red letters, as follows: "*Explicit philobiblon domini Ricardi de Aungervile cognominati de Bury quondam Episcopi dunelmensis. Completus est autem tractatus iste in manerio nostro de Aukelande, xxiiij die Januarii, anno domini m^occc^oxlviij^o. Ætatis nostræ libro viii^o præcise completo. Pontificatus nostri anno xi^o finiente ad laudem dei fecili ter*
Quod . . ."

(13) The Arundel MS. 335, formerly in the Norfolk collection at Gresham College, London, was acquired in 1830-1831 by the British Museum, where it still remains. It is a small quarto volume, written about 1430, and con-

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tains two treatises, Philobiblon being the second (ff. 58-101). The title is a later entry by some careless scribe: "*Philobillon Ricardo de Bury Dunelmensi episcopo authore.*" In the text the spelling is "*philobiblon.*" Under the title, in paler ink and smaller letters, is another entry in a different hand: "*Tempore Edwardi Tertii vixit et cancellarii summi magistratum gessit et Thesaurii officio est functus.*" There is no colophon, but at the end is written in a later hand in small letters "*philibiblion.*" In the text itself some confusion appears in the copying.

(14) The paper MS. 5829 in the Royal Library at Munich. Its date is 1426, as appears from the entry "*Scriptum in Vriess . . . a. 1426.*" I have been unable to obtain any account of it from the Munich Library. Mr. Thomas describes it briefly in his edition of the Philobiblon (p. lxxiii).

(15) MS. R. 9. 17 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. Aldis Wright examined it and assigned it to the early fifteenth century. In this volume Philobiblon is the second of fourteen treatises and occupies ff. 48-65. It is written solidly, without spacing between the chapters, and consequently without a separate title at the head of each chapter. There is no title before the prologue. The full colophon appears, but with some odd variations. The only noteworthy one is *compilatus* instead of the correct *completus*.

(16) The MS. in Bishop Cosin's Library at Durham, marked V. v. 2. 4. in the catalogue published in 1838 by the Surtees Society, p. 177. It is a small, thick volume containing four treatises, of which Philobiblon comes

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last. The writing is executed in a neat sloping hand throughout. Occasionally blank spaces are left for single words omitted here and there by the copyist. So far as I noticed, the omitted words were of foreign origin or of unusual occurrence. There is no heading to the prologue, slips in copying are not numerous, and only a few unimportant marginal entries occur. The colophon is greatly abbreviated. It reads, "*Explicit Philobiblon domini Ricardi Aingervile cognominati De Bury quondam episcopi Dunelmensis.*"

(17) MS. 11465 in the Royal Library at Brussels. This is a paper manuscript of the early fifteenth century, *Philobiblon* occupying the beginning of the volume. There is no heading to the prologue, except the word "*philobiblon*," and no colophon except "*Explicit philobiblon.*" There are no collected chapter titles at the end of the prologue, nor any titles to head the separate chapters. The text is written continuously from beginning to end. Nothing marks the chapter divisions except the red capital letters which serve as chapter initials. There are two marginal interpolations in the same hand as the text and a few marginal notes in another hand, commonly short summaries of the adjoining text. "*Phylobiblon*" occurs in the closing sentence of the prologue; elsewhere it is written correctly. This manuscript, while evidently preserving in the main the traditional text, presents some marked variations. Among them are *intus* for *ut incus*, *enutrire* for *enervare*, *philosophus* for *hieraphilosophus* (c. ii), *ulcerum Lazari* for *utriusque Lazari* (c. iv), *super vacua cavea* for *supervacanea* (c. vi), *semi verbo* for *seminiverbio* (c. viii),

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libros for *librorum lilia* (c. xvii). These errors indicate a departure from the old tradition, and, taken together with the absence of all chapter titles and the colophon, I think give a hint of the way in which the later German copies became so deeply corrupted — that is to say, through the medium of some such defective manuscript as this, devoid of chapter titles and so giving opportunity for inventing new ones, containing marked textual errors causing confusion of sense, thus leading to later capricious alterations in the hope of clearing the sense, and lacking the colophon, as do all the late German copies in question.

(18) The MS. at Corpus Christi, Oxford, numbered CCXXII 57 in Coxe's catalogue. It is of the fifteenth century, probably the earlier part. *Philobiblon* is the second of three treatises and occupies ff. 57–82. It is copied in an inferior manner in dull brownish-black ink. The heading runs, "*Incipit prologus in philobiblon Ricardi dunelmensis Episcopi quem librum compilavit Robertus Holcote de ordine prædicatorum sub nomine dicti Episcopi.*" The colophon, copied separately on the verso of the last leaf, is complete, excepting that *et Amen* is missing at the end. The text is quite satisfactory in crucial places.

IV. *From 1430 to 1470.*

Thus far the manuscripts preserve one tradition without great variation. This *standard English tradition*, for such it is, lies in manuscripts almost every one of which was copied in England. The only exceptions previous to 1430 are the Lincoln MS., copied in France about 1420, but preserving the old tradition; the Brussels MS. 11465 of the early fifteenth century, probably of Flemish origin and

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yet keeping tolerably to the same tradition; and the Munich MS. dated 1426, of whose text I know nothing.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, however, a clear divergence from the old text appears in the manuscripts of German copying. These I venture to style the *later German variants*. Accordingly the MSS. of this period will be described under this twofold division:

A. Continuation of the standard English tradition.

(19) No. 24361 of the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, written about 1450-60. It is written throughout in plain black, empty squares being left for filling in coloured initials. There is no heading to the prologue, and scarcely anything in the way of marginal notes. At the end is a shortened colophon: "*Explicit philobiblon Ricardi de Aungervyle cognominati de Bury quondam Episcopi dunelmensis. Completus anno domini 1344^{to}, ætatis nostræ 58, pontificatus nostri 11^{mo}.*"

(20) The MS. at All Souls', Oxford, numbered XXXI in Coxe's catalogue. It is a large, thick-leaved volume, in which Philobiblon occupies ff. 236 (second column)-254. It is written in double column and in a fairly plain hand. The prologue is headed, "*Incipit prologus in philobiblon Ricardi dunolmensis episcopi.*" There are no marginal entries of any sort, save two catchwords (f. 240^v and f. 248^v), and the copy is free from retouching or interpolation. The colophon is in full form, but altered boldly in several places. This one is noteworthy: Philobiblon is said to be "*editus a domino Ricardi de Bury.*"

(21) The Parker MS. at Corpus Christi, Cambridge, numbered 456-6 in Nasmith's catalogue. It was copied prob-

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ably about the middle of the fifteenth century. Of the seven treatises contained in it Philobiblon is the sixth (pages 127-202). There is no heading except "*Philobiblon*," which appears to be in a later hand. There are no chapter titles at the head of the separate chapters, as the text runs solidly throughout. The ending is singular. The text runs down to "*fruibilis fa*-" of the last sentence of the last chapter, completing a manuscript page (202). Opposite this is the stub of a leaf which has been cut out and probably once contained the rest of the sentence, "*-ciei conspectum Amen*," with the colophon added. This missing matter is supplied in a later hand on the lower margin of the same page. The colophon, except that it has *initio* for *iste*, exactly reproduces the irregular colophon of MS. R. 9. 17 of Trinity College, Cambridge. This, with the absence of title and separate chapter headings in both, goes to show that it was copied from the Trinity MS.

(22) MS. A. 2. 16, in the library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, is a paper manuscript, with occasional parchment interleaving, copied in a slovenly way about the middle of the fifteenth century. The text, however, is evidently taken from a good source. But the copyist wrote very irregularly and blurred his text in so many places with ink from his overloaded pen, that the reading is difficult indeed. The title is badly marked over in a later hand and renders the original writing almost illegible. The later amended reading is "*Philobiblion Ricardi Bury Episcopi Dunelmensis*." The colophon appears in full form, with unimportant variations.

(23) The MS. in the conventual library at the Escorial,

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catalogued J. ii-25. As the Escorial catalogue assigned this manuscript to the fourteenth century, the importance of determining its date and character was evident. By the aid of our former Minister to Spain, the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, an examination of the manuscript was secured, without disclosing anything in support of the fourteenth century date. A second and more minute examination was made at the Escorial under the supervision of Mr. Pascual de Gayangos, of the British Museum. The result of this examination is to dissipate any fourteenth century pretensions. There is confessedly nothing to go on but the character of the writing. This has the fifteenth century characteristics, and may be assigned with some probability to the middle part of the century. It is written on paper, in fairly clear style, and contains nine treatises, *Philobiblon* coming last (ff. 157-186 recto). The title of the MS. is clipped at the top and is consequently illegible in places. It reads, "*Incipit libellus dictus philobiblon editus a fratre . . . prædicator[e?], sacræ paginæ præclarissimo professore, ad petitionem domini Ricardi dimelinensis episcopi, in cujus persona ipse magister Robertus loquitur in libello præsentis.*" Then, "*Incipit prologus in philobiblon Ricardi dimelinensis episcopi.*" The text is divided into nineteen chapters, the nineteenth and twentieth being run together under the title of the nineteenth. Marginal notes in various hands are frequent. The text itself, however, is not corrected in any way. The colophon is lacking, except the three words "*Explicit philobiblon Ricardi.*"

The character of its text, as shown by the chapter titles and a series of cross-readings in the body of the treatise,

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leaves no doubt as to where this manuscript belongs. It is in the line of the English tradition.

B. The German variants.

(24) The paper MS. in the Bodleian at Oxford, catalogued as C. 108. II. E. 19. of the Additional MSS. In some written notes of Coxe in the unprinted catalogue of the Additional MSS. it is assigned to the fifteenth century. Mr. Madan assigns it to the second half of the fifteenth century. Mr. Macray gives its date more precisely as 1450-1470. It is the work of a German copyist. *Philobiblon* is the second of three treatises, occupying ff. 20v-39. The writing is in one hand and runs evenly in double column, with a few marginal entries. The prologue is headed, "*Incipit philobliblon id est tractatus de amore librorum Venerabilis viri domini Richardi de Buri Episcopi Dunelmensis. Editus per venerabilem magistrum Robertum Holkot anglicani (?) ordinis prædicatorum.*" *Philobiblon* is the spelling in the prologue itself. There are no collected chapter titles at the end of the prologue. The titles which head the separate chapters are in part the traditional titles and in part a patching of these with totally new ones. The old titles appear over eleven chapters (II-IX, XIV, XIX, XX). The first chapter has substantially the old title, but preceded by an introductory phrase. It runs, "*Incipit liber de amore librorum, distinctus per viginti capitula.*" Then joined immediately to it is the old title with its first word changed from *quod* to *qualiter* — "*qualiter thesaurus sapientiæ potissime sit in libris.*" The other eight chapters (X-XIII, XV-XVIII) each have a title made of two pieces, the old title coming indifferently first or last as suited the

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exigencies of the patching. Thus the tenth chapter is headed with the new part first, "*Quod doctores priores semper usi sunt dictis priorum*," then comes "*Et*," a coupling word of the scribe, and the old title, "*de successiva perfectione librorum*." In chapters XI, XII, XIII the old title beginning with its initial capital letter is openly joined, without any padding or alteration, to the new title. In the latter part of his work (chapters XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII) the scribe continues his patching, but becomes bolder and mutilates the old titles, reaching his climax in chapter XVIII, where his title reads: "*Auctor libri contra detractores suos Quia tantam librorum copiam magis collegimus ad communem scholariam profectum quam propria pro voluntate*." The seam is of course visible at "*Quia*," and the old title at the end is altered in several places. The text is full of the faults which are common to this and the other German variants. Not to burden this account with many examples, we may cite such crucial readings as *viam impedibilem, fit a sub* (in the prologue), *utriusque lateris* for *utriusque lazari* (c. iv), *rejecit elle fuga* for *retrojecit elifuga* (c. xiii), *librorum folia* for *librorum lilia* (c. xvii), and the ending *per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum* added at the close of the last chapter. There is no colophon. The copying is done very ignorantly throughout. Apparently more than one manuscript was used by the scribe.

In one respect this MS. is unique, for at the close of the volume in which it is contained (ff. 45-48) there is a glossary of 244 rare and difficult words. Approximately 200 are from the Philobiblon. About half of these are words

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of Greek origin, with a few from the Arabic. Nearly all the words have definitions added, frequently of value and sometimes poor enough. Wherever quoted in this edition it is styled the *Oxford Glossary*.

(25) The MS. at Balliol College, Oxford, numbered CLXVI (A) in Coxe's catalogue. It is of German origin and was copied, in Mr. Macray's judgment, about 1460. It is a large paper manuscript of 816 pages, Philobiblon coming at the end (pages 791-816). The prologue has no heading or list of collected chapter titles. There is no colophon. The writing is executed throughout in dull black ink in a thick, stupid-looking hand. One peculiarity suggests that this MS. was one source of the Bodleian MS. C. 108 described above. Titles for the separate chapters are given only for the first chapter and chapters X-XIII and XV-XVIII. Titles for chapters II-IX, XIV, XIX, and XX are missing. The text of the titles given is almost exactly what is found in the new part of each corresponding title in the Bodleian MS. (C. 108), excepting the title of the first chapter. The rest of the Bodleian MS. titles are from the old text tradition, and compose the other half of each title in chapters X-XIII and XV-XVIII, and the whole of each Bodleian title wherever the Balliol MS. is blank (II-IX, XIV, XIX, XX). The title of the first chapter needs no special comment here. It is a made title, not the old one.

(26) The MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, numbered 2454. This is a large paper volume of 337 leaves, and contains twenty-seven treatises, all written in one hand. It is of German origin, and its copying is

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assigned by Mr. Maunde Thompson to 1450–60. Philobiblon is the fourteenth treatise (ff. 169–185). It has no heading to the prologue, except a scribe's note at the top of the first folio, "*Philobiblon Richardi.*" There are no collected chapter titles, and no titles over the separate chapters except in five instances (chapters I, XI, XIII, XVII, XVIII). These five resemble those in the Balliol MS. CLXVI (A), but are abbreviated.

(27) The paper MS. A. VI. 34 in the University Library at Basle. It contains nine treatises, of which Philobiblon is the fourth (ff. 226–252). The writing is of the fifteenth century, executed most probably between the years 1458–1478, when John de Venningen was Bishop of Basle, and presented it to the library then there. The prologue is headed by "*Incipit prologus in librum de amore librorum quod dicitur philobiblon.*" There are no collected chapter titles. The titles of the separate chapters (I, X–XIII, XV–XVIII only) are almost as in the Balliol MS. CLXVI (A). There is no colophon.

(28) MS. 738 in the Royal Library at Brussels. Philobiblon is part of a large paper volume catalogued 733–741. It is apparently of Flemish origin and was written in the "second third" of the fifteenth century, according to the catalogue. There is no title to the prologue and no list of chapter titles after it. The separate chapter titles are almost as in the Balliol MS. CLXVI (A). The colophon is, "*Explicit phylobyblon domini Richardi de buri dunelmensis episcopi.*" *Philobiblon* is the spelling in the body of the text.

(29) The MS. formerly owned by Mr. David Laing, of Edinburgh, and purchased for him at Rotterdam in 1839.

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It contains four treatises, of which Philobiblon is the second, occupying 48 leaves. The volume retains its fifteenth century binding of brown stamped leather. The representation of the Adoration of the Magi frequently repeated on the cover, and the entry "*Liber domus sanctæ Barbaræ*," leave no doubt of the Cologne origin of this binding, which is contemporary with the manuscript contents of the volume. The writing is that of a German copyist and may be assigned to a time certainly as early as 1470. The prologue is headed, "*Incipit prologus in librum de amore librorum qui philobiblon dicitur.*" There is no list of chapter titles collected at the end of the prologue, but every chapter is headed with a title, corresponding (except in chapter X) to the titles in the Balliol MS. CLXVI (A), so far as the latter has any.

The chief interest of the Cologne MS. lies in its remarkable relation to the *editio princeps*, printed at Cologne in 1473. Everything about it seems to prove it the veritable ancestor of the first printed edition, and consequently the source of what may be called the *textus receptus* found in the printed editions flowing from the *editio princeps*. The evidence may be summed up as follows: Both the MS. in question and the *editio princeps* are traceable to Cologne, the one being copied only a few years before the other was printed. The body of the text is closely alike in both. Such divergences as appear are no more than can be explained as errors or variations of the printer, while there are many striking correspondences down to minute details found in these two and found nowhere else. Among these are the heading to

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the prologue, the close agreement in the chapter titles, and the striking "*ex persona librorum*" inserted in red, pairt-like letters near the opening of the fourth chapter. To this may be added the general appearance of the *editio princeps*, which is nothing but a manuscript reproduced in print without any editing, and perhaps also the fact that they each fill 48 leaves.

One thing at least is certain. If we have not in this MS. the particular copy from which the *editio princeps* was printed, we have at the least the perfect proof of the general source from which the *editio princeps* comes. It is from the text to which the Cologne MS. belongs, and that is the text which, with all the minor variations differentiating its several copies, has a great body of peculiarities common to all the copies, that is to say, the text found in the German variants.

(30) The paper MS. 4705 in the Royal Library at Munich I have been unable to examine, or obtain a report concerning it. According to a note at the end it was copied by Wolfgang Klammer in Gmünden in the year 1454. Mr. Thomas refers to it in his edition of the Philobiblon (p. lxiii).

V. Later than 1470.

These need but brief mention.

(31) A small MS. belonging to Mr. Samuel Timmins and containing nothing besides the Philobiblon. It is of Flemish origin, and was copied probably in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The prologue has no heading and no list of chapter titles at its end. *Phylobiblon* in the prologue and *phylybyblon* in the colophon are the only

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names given to the treatise. There are titles for all the separate chapters, bad mixtures of the old titles found in English MSS. with the new German variations. The colophon runs, "*Explicit phylybyblon Richardi de Bury episcopi de amore librorum et scientiarum Deo gratias.*" Folio 29 is misplaced and should come between ff. 24-25. In point of textual character it belongs to the German variants.

(32) A paper MS. numbered B. V. 40, belonging to the Royal Library of Bamberg, Germany. The volume contains four treatises, Philobiblon coming last (ff. 267^v-318^v), and was copied at Ebrach in Germany, probably in the latter part of the fifteenth century, possibly earlier. Oddly enough the prologue begins, "*Universis Christi fidelibus et literarum cultoribus,*" and one of its headings (f. 268^v) reads, "*Phylobyblon magnifici dissertissimique viri Richardi dimelinensis Episcopi de querimoniis librorum prologus feliciter incipit.*" The resemblances to the Spires edition of 1483 (see p. 40) are evident, and at the beginning of the MS. the writer of the entry dated "17 Septembris anno Christi 1484" expressly refers to that edition. It is not unlikely that the MS. was revised with the aid of the Spires text. It is the only one, so far as I know, which has been altered by the aid of a printed edition.

(33) MS. 3725 of the Royal Library at Brussels is part of a paper manuscript volume, catalogued 3716-3730. The volume is in one hand, and its date is between 1480 and 1491. It contains only a compend or series of extracts from parts of the Philobiblon, as is indicated in the opening of its title, "*Incipit parvum manuale extractum*

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ex philobiblon domini Richardi Almgduli cognominati de bury," etc.

VI. Of Doubtful Date.

(34) The Ottoboni MS. (259) in the Vatican at Rome contains seven treatises, of which *Philobiblon* is the fourth. Dr. Giovanni Bollig, the Prefect of the Vatican Library, writes regarding its date: "The age is, according to my opinion, of the second half of the fourteenth century; according to that of Dr. Mau and Dr. Oltenthal, both of them good German scholars, of the beginning of the fifteenth century. But nobody will ever be able to settle the exact date of the manuscript." The prologue has no heading, but the list of collected chapter titles occurs at the end of the prologue as in MSS. of the English tradition. There are no titles, however, at the head of the separate chapters. The cross-readings made by Dr. Bollig in the first eight chapters of the text indicate adherence to the English tradition. Marginal notes and very short glosses, but no interpolations, are rather abundant, generally quotations from Aristotle, Plato, Augustine, etc. Four or five hands may be easily distinguished among them. *Phyllobiblon* occurs in the prologue. There is no colophon beyond "*Explicit philobiblon Domini Richardi de Buri episcopi Dunelmensis.*"

(35) The MS. in the library of St. Mark at Venice. It is catalogued as Cod. XLI, Cl. I, Latinorum, and assigned by the librarian's catalogue of 1868 to the fourteenth century. It was recorded by Tommasini in 1650 as being in the library of the Convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, near Venice. In 1789 it was transferred, with the rest of the

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Convent library, to the Library of St. Mark. Signor Castellani has sent me a brief account of it. In this volume there are five separate documents, Philobiblon coming third (ff. 35^v–55^v). There is no heading to the prologue, and the colophon is, "*Explicit philobiblon magistri rothberti holchor ordinis prædicatorum.*" The absence of the genuine colophon, of course, throws doubt upon the fourteenth century date. What the value of its text may amount to I cannot say, but certainly it cannot do more than confirm the sufficiently established English tradition or else prove itself a castaway.

The facts concerning the history of the manuscript text may be summed up as follows :

The Philobiblon was finished January 24th, 1345. No copy made at or about that time is known to be in existence. The only notice of such a copy is found in the statement of Dr. Thomas Kay, that he had read in the library of Durham College, Oxford, during the reign of Henry VIII (1509–1547), the very copy of the Philobiblon which Richard de Bury gave in his lifetime to that library (Hearne, *Assertatio Antiquitatis Oxon. Acad.*, II, 433). But this library was plundered of its books in 1550, under the "Visitation" of Edward VI, when every college library in Oxford excepting Lincoln was searched and "great heaps of these books were set on fire in the market place,"¹ and the Oxford libraries were thoroughly "purged" of their mediæval Catholic books in excess of Reformation zeal. The earliest MSS. we have go back to about 1370, twenty-five years after the composition of the Philobiblon. From this

¹ Wood, *Hist. et Ant. Univ. Oxon.*, I, 271, 272.

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time onward we have thirty-five MSS., extending from 1370 to 1491. Excluding from these the two fifteenth century Munich MSS. and the Venice MS., which I am unable to describe, the other thirty-two present us two rival texts. The first, or *standard English tradition*, occurs in every manuscript from 1370 to 1450, and possibly in a few slightly later — altogether in twenty-three MSS., nearly all of them copied in England. The second text occurs in the seven *German variants* only, which were all copied in Germany between 1450 and 1484. They contain in common a great number of variations from the English tradition, with minor differences among themselves, and are evidently the work of ignorant copyists who altered whatever they found unintelligible. The common basis of agreement in these variants indicates, I think, that the arbitrary emendation of the text began with some one copyist whose work was followed by the others. From one of these MSS., or at least from the text represented by these seven German variants, came the *editio princeps* and consequently the received printed text. Between the received text and the text based on the old English MSS. there are not far from 1500 or 1600 differences out of the 19,000 words in the Philobiblon, enough to discredit hopelessly the German copies.

The Bamberg MS., whose text seems to be a combination of both traditions, and the Brussels MS. 3725, which is nothing but a collection of excerpts, complete the thirty-two MSS.

It is very plain that there is only one course to pursue in regard to the text, and that is to discard at once the

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German variants as valueless in presence of the standard English tradition, and go back for our text to the pure sources in the early English MSS., judging their discrepancies, which are comparatively slight, by external help, such as the Vulgate wherever it is quoted, and by cross-readings in the later English MSS. This is the course which I have pursued.

THE COLOPHON

THE colophon in its full form (see page 63) is an integral part of the text of the Philobiblon.

I. It occurs with very trifling variations in eight MSS. of the English tradition, including A and B, the only two which are certainly of the fourteenth century. The other six are St. John's, Oxford (about 1400); British Museum 15, C 16 (about 1400); Cott. App. IV (1425) and Harleian 492 (1425), and the fifteenth century MSS. at Corpus, Oxford, CCXXII, and Sidney Sussex, Cambridge.

II. In almost complete form (the lack of *de Aungerville* being the only noteworthy omission) it is found in three English MSS., Balliol CCLXIII (not later than 1400, possibly earlier), and two fifteenth century Cambridge MSS.—the one at Trinity and the Corpus MS., whose colophon is probably copied from the Trinity MS.

III. The English MS. at All Souls', Oxford (date about 1450), has the full colophon, with insertions—thus: “[*tractatus qui dicitur Philobiblon [id est amor librorum]*”—and other changes not affecting the sense.

IV. Two English MSS. contain the colophon abbreviated, but retaining the full statement as to the authorship and date of composition. They are the Magdalen MS. and the British Museum, Add. MSS. 24361, whose colophon almost perfectly duplicates the one in the Magdalen MS.

V. The colophon, much abbreviated and retaining only the opening statement of authorship, occurs in six MSS. Four are of the English

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tradition. They are the Harleian MS. 3224 in the British Museum (date about 1400) and the following fifteenth century MSS.: Vatican, Ottoboni 259, and the Escorial and Durham MSS. Two are German variants, Brussels 738 and one the property of Mr. Samuel Timmins. The Harleian colophon will serve as a sufficient example: "*Explicit philobiblon domini Ricardi de Almgervile cognominati de Bury, quondam episcopi dunelmensis.*"

These twenty manuscripts, all but two being of the English tradition, include every one before 1420 with several which are later. All their colophons, full or abbreviated, expressly attribute the authorship of the Philobiblon to Richard de Bury and to none other.

VI. Six MSS. of the fifteenth century lack the colophon, but have brief substitutes therefor. They are the Lincoln MS. (date 1420), which has "*Explicit tractatus qui vocatur Philobiblon*"; the Brussels MS. 11465 of the English tradition, and D (Paris 3352c; date about 1430), which have simply "*Explicit Philobiblon*"; Brussels 3725, the *parvum manuale*, containing a few pages of excerpts; and the Bamberg and Venice MSS., whose texts I have not sufficient information to classify. The Venice colophon attributes the authorship to Holkot. No other colophon does this. It reads, "*Explicit philobiblon magistri rotherti holchot ordinis prædicatorum.*"

VII. Seven MSS. absolutely lack any colophon. Two are of the English tradition, Arundel 335 in the British Museum (1430), with C (Paris 15168; date about 1440). Five are German variants, none of them earlier than 1450. They are Balliol, Oxford, CLXVI; Bodleian, Oxford, Add. MSS. C. 108; Paris 2454; Basle A. VI; and the Cologne MS. so nearly related to the *editio princeps*. Of the two Munich MSS. I am unable to speak.

The genuineness of the full colophon and its value for the authorship and date of the Philobiblon, as well as for the author's birth date, are evident at once. In general the earlier the MS. the fuller the colophon. As C and D both lack it, and no MS. indisputably earlier than 1420 is without a substantial part of it, the bearing of these facts against a fourteenth century date for C and D is clear enough.

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It is additionally worthy of note that MSS. containing the full colophon also have chapter titles in very close agreement. The total of all variations in these titles between the various MSS. of this class amounts, according to my examination, to one pair of words reversed, two instances of single words omitted, and five of single words altered. This is practically nothing and an independent presumption in favor of the integrity of these early MSS. The relation of the colophons to the headings or titles prefixed to the prologue, generally of later date, is considered in the next note.

HEADINGS

(1) Setting aside the unimportant headings entered in a hand later than the text and those which attribute the authorship of the Philobiblon to Robert Holkot, no manuscript earlier than 1430 has any heading whatsoever. Manuscripts which lack or shorten the colophon are apt to compensate for this loss by some sort of a heading, which varies from the simple *Philobiblon* up to an elaborate notice attributing the work in some way to Holkot. The three things, however, which generally go together in an early English MS. are the colophon, at least in substantial part, no heading, and the collected chapter titles in close agreement with other MSS. of the same class.

(2) The most interesting matter connected with the headings is the question raised by some of them as to the authorship of the Philobiblon.

The headings of six MSS. and one colophon (in the Venice MS.) speak of Robert Holkot, or Holcote, the Dominican theologian and intimate friend of Richard de Bury, as composing or compiling the Philobiblon.

The first and most important is the heading of A, which Mr. Maunde Thompson pronounces to be in the same hand with the body of the text. It reads: "*Incipit prologus in Philobiblon Ricardi dunelmensis episcopi quem librum composuit Robertus holcote de ordine prædicatorum sub nomine dicti episcopi.*"

The same heading occurs, I think in a later hand than the text, in the Harleian MS. 492 (date about 1425). The only change of any note is the insertion of *d.* (= *dominus*) before *Robertus holcote*.

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It also occurs in the Corpus, Oxford (CCXXII), fifteenth century MS. with only one change, but a significant one; *compilavit* appearing instead of *composuit*.

These three are one, and may be said to represent the source of the Holkot title.

D, the Paris MS. 3352c (date 1430) has in large red letters at the top of the first page, "*philobiblon olchoti anglici*," and separately below it, "*Incipit prologus in philobiblon Ricardi dunelmensis episcopi*."

The Escorial MS. has the extra heading, "*Incipit libellus dictus philobiblon editus a fratre . . . prædicator[e] ad petitionem domini Ricardi dimelinensis episcopi, in cujus persona ipse magister Robertus loquitur in libello præsentii*."

The Bodleian Add. MS. C. 108 (date 1450-1470) has the heading, "*Incipit philobiblon id est tractatus de amore librorum Venerabilis viri domini Richardi de Buri Episcopi Dunelmensis. Editus per venerabilem magistrum Robertum Holkot anglicani ordinis prædicatorum*."

Last comes the made-up colophon of the Venice MS. cited in the previous note (p. 95).

The sum of the claim in behalf of Holkot is in the phrases *composuit*, *compilavit*, *editus*, and *in cujus persona ipse magister Robertus loquitur*. Supposing these statements to mean that Robert Holkot and not Richard de Bury was the real author of the Philobiblon, which is pressing their meaning to its utmost, the fact still remains that, excepting the important A, they have but slender manuscript support. I do not think it hazarding too much to say that the title in A looks like the source, or at least proves only one source, for the Holkot claim. That source, as the persistent reference in every Holkot title, except the bare scrap in D, to the *Ordo Prædicatorum* indicates, seems to be some scribe of the Dominican order, who was willing to take all he could for Holkot, but did not attempt to deny that De Bury had something important to do with the Philobiblon, for he left the colophon and text untampered with.

But there need be no great difficulty. It is quite possible, though certainly in no way proven, that De Bury had some friendly aid as he worked out his Philobiblon during his long last illness. The only references he makes which bear on his actual labour on the book are

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tractatum edidimus in the prologue, *tractatum compegimus* in the opening sentence of the twentieth chapter, and *completus est autem tractatus iste in manerio nostro* in the colophon. None of these need mean that he composed the book without any help. He had always in his various manor-houses, as he tells us in the eighth chapter, no small multitude of copyists in his employ. Robert Holkot was his intimate friend, one of his *collaterales in thalamo* (68 : 4 of Latin text); and as the terms *composuit*, *compilavit*, and *editus* may well mean less rather than more than the originator of them intended, I think they point at most to some editorial help or supervision of the copying of what De Bury dictated during his illness and, as the Philobiblon indicates, in expectation of death.

To grant more than this would be absurd. The evidence that De Bury is the real author of the Philobiblon, whoever may have been his scribe or assistant editor, is too overwhelming to be set aside. The external evidence of the colophons and many titles is in his favour, the style of the Philobiblon does not get its colour from Holkot's writings, and the book is autobiographical on almost every page.



General View of the Manuscripts of the Philobiblon.

I. THE ENGLISH TRADITION

preserves the true text in twenty-three MSS. ranging in date from 1370 to 1450 or later.

Text substantially complete in twenty MSS. including A B C D and ranging in date from 1370 to 1450 or later.

Text defective in three MSS. from 1400 to 1430.

Brussels No. 11465. *Magdalen MS.*, Early XVth century. Lacks heading, collected and separate chapter titles, and colophon.
St. John's MS., Oxford. Date 1400. Lacks end of chapter IX, all of X, and beginning of XI.

?

II. THE GERMAN VARIANTS, containing a corrupted text, without headings or with new headings, lacking collected chapter titles and colophons, and with new separate chapter titles. Not improbably originating from some incomplete MS. of the English tradition (like Brussels 11465). Found in seven MSS. dating from 1450 to 1484. The *editio princeps* and printed texts derived from it come from this source.

III. UNCLASSIFIED MSS., five in number—

Two at Munich, one each at Venice, Bamberg, and Brussels (No. 3725).

IV. LOST OR UNTRACEABLE MSS.—

Apparently eight in number. See pages 61 and 62.

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List of Extant Manuscripts.

| SEE PAGE. | PLACE OF DEPOSIT. | CATALOGUE MARK. | DATE | AS DETERMINED BY | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| I. THE ENGLISH TRADITION. | | | | | |
| A. 63. | British Museum, London..... | Royal 8. F.XIV Late XIVth | ..... | E. Maunde Thompson. | |
| B. 66. | Bodleian, Oxford..... | Digby 147 | 1370-1380 | Rev. W. D. Macray. | |
| C. 69. | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris | 15168 | ..... | 1440 | E. Maunde Thompson. |
| D. 70. | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris | 3352c | ..... | 1430 | E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 72. | Balliol, Oxford..... | CCLXIII, 124b | ..... | 1390-1400 | Rev. W. D. Macray. |
| 72. | British Museum, London..... | 15. C. 16 | ..... | 1400 | E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 73. | British Museum, London..... | Harleian 3224 | ..... | 1400 | E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 74. | St. John's, Oxford | CLXXII, 2 | ..... | 1400 | Rev. W. D. Macray. |
| 73. | Magdalen, Oxford..... | VI, 164 | ..... | 1400 | F. Madan and Rev. H. A. Wilson. |
| 75. | Lincoln, Oxford | LXXXI, 79 | ..... | 1420 | Rev. W. D. Macray. |
| 76. | British Museum, London..... | Cott. App. IV | ..... | 1425 | E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 76. | British Museum, London..... | Harleian 492 | ..... | 1425 | E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 76. | British Museum, London..... | Arundel 335 | ..... | 1430 | E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 77. | Trinity, Cambridge | R. 9. 17 | ..... | Early XVth | W. Aldis Wright. |
| 77. | Bp. Cosin's Library, Durham | V. v. 2. 4. | ..... | Early XVth | Library Catalogue. |
| 78. | Royal Library, Brussels | | 11465 | | Early XVth. Librarian. |
| 79. | Corpus Christi, Oxford..... | CCXXII, 57 | | Early † XVth | Rev. W. D. Macray. |

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80. All Souls', Oxford.....XXXI.....1450.....E. Maunde Thompson.
 80. British Museum, London.....Add. 24361.....1450-1460..E. Maunde Thompson.
 80. Corpus Christi, Cambridge..Parker MSS.456, 6..Middle† XVth. Catalogue.
 81. Sidney Sussex, Cambridge...A. 2. 16.....Middle† XVth. Catalogue.
 91. Vatican, Rome.....Ottoni 259.....
 { Late XIVth..Dr. Giovanni Bollig &
 { Early XVth..M. Léopold Delisle.
 { XIVth.....Drs. Mau & Oltenthal.
 { Middle† XVth, Pascual de Gayangos.
 81. Conventual Library, Escorial. J. ii—25.....

II. THE GERMAN VARIANTS.

84. Bodleian, Oxford.....Add. MSS. C. 108. 1450-1470..Rev. W. D. Macray.
 86. Balliol, Oxford.....CLXVI(A), 7,791.....1480..Rev. W. D. Macray.
 87. David Laing's Cologne MS. in London.....1470.....Character of writing.
 86. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. 2454.....1450-1460..E. Maunde Thompson.
 87. University Library, Basle.....A. VI, 34.....1458-1478..Dr. Karl Bersoulli.
 87. Royal Library, Brussels.....738.....Middle XVth. Librarian.
 89. Private MS. of Mr. Samuel Timmins.....Late XVth ..Character of writing.

III. TEXTS UNCLASSIFIED.

77. Royal Library, Munich.....5829.....1426.....MS. dated.
 89. Royal Library, Munich.....4705.....1454.....MS. dated.
 90. Royal Library, Bamberg.....B. V. 80.....Late XVth...Dr. Leitzchuh.
 91. Library of St. Mark, Venice, XLl, cl. I, Latinor'm, Late† XIVth. Catalogue.
 90. Royal Library, Brussels.....37261480-1491..Librarian.

The Text of the Philobiblon.

List of Extant Manuscripts.

| SEE PAGE. | PLACE OF DEPOSIT. | CATALOGUE MARK. | DATE | AS DETERMINED BY |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|---|
| I. THE ENGLISH TRADITION. | | | | |
| A. 63. | British Museum, London..... | Royal 8. F.XIV Late XIVth | ..... | E. Maunde Thompson. |
| B. 66. | Bodleian, Oxford..... | Digby 147 |1370-1380 | Rev. W. D. Macray. |
| C. 69. | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris | 15168 | ..... | 1440.....E. Maunde Thompson. |
| D. 70. | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris | 3352c | ..... | 1430.....E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 72. | Balliol, Oxford..... | OCLXIII, 124b | ..... | 1390-1400..Rev. W. D. Macray. |
| 72. | British Museum, London.... | 15. C. 16 | ..... | 1400.....E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 73. | British Museum, London..... | Harleian 3224 | ..... | 1400.....E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 74. | St. John's, Oxford | CLXXII, 2 | ..... | 1400.....Rev. W. D. Macray. |
| 73. | Magdalen, Oxford..... | VI, 164 | ..... | 1400.....F. Madan and Rev. H. A. Wilson. |
| 75. | Lincoln, Oxford | LXXXI, 79 | ..... | 1420.....Rev. W. D. Macray. |
| 75. | British Museum, London..... | Cott. App. IV | ..... | 1425.....E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 76. | British Museum, London..... | Harleian 492 | ..... | 1425.....E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 76. | British Museum, London..... | Arundel 335 | ..... | 1430.....E. Maunde Thompson. |
| 77. | Trinity, Cambridge | R. 9. 17 | ..... | Early XVth..W. Aldis Wright. |
| 77. | Bp. Cosin's Library, Durham | V. v. 2. 4. | ..... | Early XVth..Library Catalogue. |
| 78. | Royal Library, Brussels | 11465 | | Early XVth..Librarian. |
| 79. | Corpus Christi, Oxford..... | CCXXII, 57 | | Early f XVth.Rev. W. D. Macray. |

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80. All Souls', Oxford.....XXXI.....1450.....E. Maunde Thompson.
 80. British Museum, London.....Add. 24361.....1450-1460..E. Maunde Thompson.
 80. Corpus Christi, Cambridge..Parker MSS.456, 6..Middle†XVth..Catalogue.
 81. Sidney Sussex, Cambridge...A. 2. 16.....Middle†XVth..Catalogue.
 91. Vatican, Rome.....Otoboni 259.....
 { Late XIVth..Dr. Giovanni Bollig &
 M. Léopold Delisle.
 { Early XVth...Drs. Mau & Oltenthal.
 { XIVth.....Catalogue.
 81. Conventual Library, Escorial..J. ii—25.....
 { Middle†XVth, Pascual de Gayangos.

II. THE GERMAN VARIANTS.

84. Bodleian, Oxford.....Add. MSS. C. 108. 1450-1470..Rev. W. D. Macray.
 86. Balliol, Oxford.....CLXVI(A), 7,791.....1460..Rev. W. D. Macray.
 87. David Laing's Cologne MS. in London.....1470.....Character of writing.
 86. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.2454.....1450-1460..E. Maunde Thompson.
 87. University Library, Basle....A. VI, 34.....1458-1478..Dr. Karl Beisoulli.
 87. Royal Library, Brussels.....738.....Middle XVth..Librarian.
 89. Private MS. of Mr. Samuel Timmins.....Late XVth ..Character of writing.

III. TEXTS UNCLASSIFIED.

77. Royal Library, Munich.....5829.....1426.....MS. dated.
 89. Royal Library, Munich.....4705.....1454.....MS. dated.
 90. Royal Library, Bamberg.....B. V. 80.....Late XVth...Dr. Leitechuh.
 91. Library of St. Mark, Venice, XLI,cl.I, Latinor'm, Late†XIVth..Catalogue.
 90. Royal Library, Brussels.....3725.....1480-1491..Librarian.



Explanatory Notes



THE pair of Arabic numbers at the head of each note indicates the page and line of the Latin text in the first volume. The first number of the pair also indicates the corresponding marginal number in the second volume.

I have verified all De Bury's quotations, except one from Cassiodorus. I can find scarcely any errors in them, apart from two or three trifling slips easily accounted for by changes in the divisions of books since his time.

NOTES

PROLOGUE

- 10:5 *consilium*: from *πράξεις* *μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ προαίρεσις*, Aristotle, *Ethics*, VI, 2 (compare also III, 2 and 3). Thomas Aquinas discusses the question fully under the heading, *Utrum consilium sit de omnibus quæ a nobis aguntur*, *Summa Theol.* II, *Quæst.* xiv, *Art.* iv.
- 10:14 *septiformis* is the mediæval word used to denote the sev-
- enfold plenitude of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. It is based on *Isai.* xi, 2 and 3, where the seven gifts of the Spirit are enumerated. Augustine says *septenarius numerus dicatus est Spiritui Sancto*, and is the first to use *septiformis*. Compare his *septiformis gratia Spiritus Sancti*, I *De Serm. Dom.* 4. It is frequent in mediæval hymns. Anselm, in his Second Homily, says *in qua septiformi*

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prece Spiritum septiformem possemus impetrare. See also John of Salisbur', Polycraticus, VIII, 1, and De Septem Septenis, V.

10:16 *viam non impedibilem* clearly comes from *via sine impedimento*, Sap. xix, 7. I am unable to find *impedibilis* elsewhere. It is used, according to Thomas, by Bradwardine, De Causa Dei, I, 1.

11:9 *elegi* in classical Latin means elegiac verses, but in mediæval Latin means "wretched." Compare Roger Bacon's definition *elegi sunt miseri*, Opus Tertium, VI.

11:14 *in inculto juventutis agro*: "from the anonymous author of the De Varietate Carminum, who says, *Tria sunt seminum genera quæ in culto juventutis agro absque comitantibus zizaniis rarissime conualescunt*" (Thomas). The MSS. vary between *in culto* and *in inculto*, and while the citation given above makes clear that *in culto* is the true reading, if De Bury quoted exactly, it seems to me that this is not a quotation but an adaptation in which *in culto* is against the sense De Bury has in mind to express. The sense is that the seeds of virtue are in an untilled and unwatered field, that scholars are going to waste for want of culture.

11:16 *lateat*: quoted from Boethius, De Cons. Phil. I, m. 5:

*Latet obscuris condita virtus
Clara tenebris.*

12:3 *sola inedia novercante*: For the sentiment compare the mediæval song:

*Exul ego clericus
Ad laborem natus*

*Litterarum studiis
Vellem insudare,
Nisi quod inopia
Cogit me cessare.*

Cited in Gesch. der Deutschen Univ. Kaufmann, I, p. 152 (Stuttgart, 1888).

12:4 *nectareo poculo*: *pocula philosophiæ* and *philosophico nectare* occur in the De Disciplina Scholarium of the pseudo-Boethius, Migne LXIV, 1226 and 1233.

12:13 *pro paucis*: from Boethius, *paucis etiam minimisque natura contenta est*, De Cons., Phil. II, pr. 5, sub med.

12:16 *athleta*, applied to a Christian, is a champion or defender of the faith. Compare the old hymn:

*Martyres omnes peto athletas
Ut me per eos salus sepiat.
Mone: Lat. Hymn., I, 270, 22.*

12:20 *assub*: Cocheris suggested and Thomas identified this as an Arabic astronomical term. It is the Latin form of *ashâb*, which means a meteor. The instances which have come under my notice are *impressiones inflammatae in aere ex vaporibus ignitis in similitudinem stellarum, quæ vocantur Arabice, Assub*. Roger Bacon, Opus Majus, Pars V, Dist. 3, Cap. I (Jebb's ed.). It is defined at length in the Oxford Glossary (see p. 86): *Assub est impressio meteorologica*,

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id est 'heerbrand.' . . . *Et hoc Arabice vocatur Asub.* In Zedler's Universal Lexicon (Leipsic, 1732) it is improperly defined "*Asub* das ist *Galaxia*" (II col. 1989). Vincent of Beauvais treats *De Asub, id est stella cadente* (Spec. Nat. IV, 72).

13:16 *caritativæ considerationis*: the adjective *caritativus*, according to Ducange, occurs only in Rymor, VIII, p. 101. Besides this one instance in the Philobiblon, I have noticed *ex intentione caritativi affectus*, Albericus, Serm. in Scholasticam, p. 944, t. 66. The word is probably not earlier than the eleventh century.

14:2 *amor extaticus*: The highest or Divine love is ecstatic, according to Dionysius, the source of mediæval mystical theology. *Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἑκστατικός ὁ θεῖος ἔρως*, De Div. Nom. IV, 13. It takes a man out of himself (*ἐκ-στασις*) and devotes him to the object of his love. So De Bury's *amor extaticus* made his passion for book-gathering unselfish, for his *intentio* was to gather books for others. See chapter xviii.

14:9 *modernorum*: *moderni* is the antithesis to *antiqui* (see title to c. ix), and first occurs in Cassiodorus, Var. IV, 51, *Antiquorum diligentissimus imitator, modernorum nobilissimus institutor*.

14:18 *Philobiblon* is composed carelessly from *φίλος* and *βιβλος*.

φιλόβιβλος is good Greek for a book-lover. Strabo says of Apellicon that he was *φιλόβιβλος μάλλον ἢ φιλόσοφος*, Lib. xiii. *Philobiblon* is perhaps compounded with *βιβλον* in the accusative to show the object: "book-love," "de amore librorum." The form *Philobiblion* has no warrant in the MSS., and was first printed in the Paris edition of 1500. See p. 43.

15 The list of chapter titles is given in collected form immediately after the prologue in all the best MSS., as well as in many others, and is an integral part of the text. I think it is evident that the prologue, with the summary of chapter titles added, was written by Richard de Bury after he had finished the twenty chapters of the book, and then prefixed. The statement in the prologue, *per viginti divisus capitula* (14:14), would hardly come from a writer until he knew what his book actually contained, that is to say until it was written. More explicit is the assurance given in *edidimus* (14:8) that the book was already written. The formal opening of the first chapter and the review of his motives for writing, given in the prologue, tend in the same direction.

16:4 *omnes homines* . . . *desiderant*: from the opening sentence of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, *Πάντες ἀνθρώποι τοῦ εἶδέναι ὀρέγονται φέσει*, which became a mediæval commonplace. Dante's *Convito* opens

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with it and it also occurs near the beginning in the first chapter of Roger Bacon's *Compendium Studii Philosophiæ*.

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, | Seraphim, Cherubim, Throni, | Compare Isaiah vi. Gen. iii. Coloss. i. |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Virtues, Dominations, Powers, | Virtutes, Dominaciones, Potestates, | Ephes. i. Coloss. i. Coloss. i. |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Principalities, Archangels, Angels, | Principatus, Archangeli, Angeli, | Coloss. i. I. Thess. vi. Rom. viii. |
|---|--|---|

17:16 *lanceas in ligones*: the *concidite ligones vestros in lanceas* of Joel III, 10, reversed. In Joel the exhortation, "Beat your pruning hooks into spears," calls on husbandmen and farmers to become soldiers. In the Philobiblon the passage is turned about to indicate that *sapientia* has saved priests, the soldiers of the Church, from reverting to the condition of serfs and rustics, from which so many of them had arisen.

Thomas Aquinas discusses the subject very fully in his *Summa Theol.* I, Quæst. cviii, Art. i, ii. There were orders of demons also. Dionysius suggests this in his *De Divinis Nominibus* (cap. iv, a med. lect. 18), and Thomas Aquinas teaches it more fully. See *Summa Theol.* I, Quæst. cix, Art. i.

18:9-10 The higher mystical side of mediæval theology had its source in the writings erroneously attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. They are the work of some unknown later writer, probably of the fifth century, and were first translated entire into Latin in the ninth century by John Scotus Erigena. The pseudo-Dionysius became the master of some of the greatest Schoolmen, notably Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, and powerfully affected the poetry of Dante. Later reflections appear in Spenser and Milton, and even in Shakspeare.

From one of these works, the *De Cœlesti Hierarchia*, comes the doctrine of the angelic hierarchies. There are nine orders of angels, arranged in three hierarchies, in ascending series, from the Angels up to the Seraphim. They are as follows:

18:11 "The chair of Crato": See note 94:2-9.

18:15 *Omnia . . . in tempore*: from Aristotle's *Physics*, IV, 12; *καταρτίζει δὲ χρόνος καὶ γηράσκει πάνθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου*.

18:21 *fidelis Fabricius et Cato rigidus*: Boethius couples them similarly in *De Cons. Phil.* II, m. vii, 15-18:

Ubi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii manent,
Quid Brutus aut rigidus Cato?

19:8 *Almagest* comes from the name given by the Arabians in the middle ages to Ptolemy's Great Treatise (*μεγάλη σύνταξις*), or *Astronomy*. It is composed of *al*, the Arabic article, and *magisth*.

19:14 *quam amicis . . . sanctitatis*: Compare Arist. *Eth-*

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ics, I, 6, 1; ἀμφὸν γὰρ ὅπου φιλοῦν δασὺν προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

19:15 *via sine devio et vita sine termino* sounds almost like a mediæval hymn, though probably nothing but a rhyming balance of sounds. *vita interminabilis* is frequent in the last chapter of Boethius, De Cons. Phil.

19:16 *triplex esse* refers to Boethius, De Interpretatione, Lib. I, De Signis; *Tria sunt ex quibus omnis collocutio disputatioque perficitur, res, intellectus, voces.*

20:3-5 *Veritas mentis . . . jucunda*: This seems to point to Seneca, Epp. I, 6, 4; *Si cum hac exceptione detur sapientia, ut illam inclusam teneam nec enuntiem, rejiciam. Nullius boni sine socio jucunda possessio est.*

20:7-8 *visum . . . differentias . . . monstrat*: a commonplace derived from Aristotle, Metaph. I, 1, 1; αὐτὴ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ πολλὰς ὁλοὶ διαφορὰς. Roger Bacon uses it several times. See his Opus Majus, Pars V, Dist. i, Cap. i, and Opus Tertium Cap. xi.

20:8 *subtilissimo motui* is the vibration of the air which gives rise to hearing. Compare Isidore, Etym. I, 15; *vox est aer ictus sensibilis auditu*. A spoken word was a mere breath of air.

20:9-15 For the psychology of this sentence Thomas Aquinas,

Summa Theol. I, Quæst. lxxviii, and Roger Bacon, Opus Majus, Pars V, Dist. i, Capp. i, ii, iv, should be consulted. It is largely derived from Aristotle, De Anima.

The five *sensus exteriores* are *visus, auditus, olfactus, gustus, tactus*. Knowledge may enter by any of them. Back of them lies the *sensus communis*, or perception proper, the first of the four *sensus interiores*. Next comes *imaginatio*, or phantasy, the shaping or picturing power, then the *virtus æstimatoria* (called by De Bury *intellectus*), the reason, and last of all the *virtus memorativa*, or *memoria*, which reproduces and perpetuates what is brought to it.

23:1 The sense is that probable reasoning is sufficient in *moralis materia*, just as necessary reason alone suffices for the deductive sciences. "Demonstration" serves for the mathematician Euclid, but not for the moral philosopher Cicero. The distinction is from Aristotle, Topics, I, 1.

23:2-4 *disciplinam . . . tolerare* is drawn from Aristotle, Eth. I, 3, 4; πεπαιδευμένον γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοσούτον τὰκριβὲς ἐπιζητεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον γένος, ἐφ' ὅσον ἡ τοῦ πράγματος φύσις ἐπιδέχεται.

23:14-15, 19-22 The proper reference is to Aristotle's Problems, xxx, 11 (not 10). There are three *responsiones* in this Problem, the last being the one here quoted.

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24:6 *hieraphilosophus*, as the MSS. so persistently have it, occurs nowhere else so far as I know. It evidently refers to Aristotle. Compare the passage from his *Ethics* cited in note 19:14; *præhonorare* closely fitting with *προτιμᾶν*. The sentiment is also expressly ascribed to Aristotle later in this same paragraph; *quibus (=amicis) tamen librorum veritas est per Aristotelem præferenda*, 24:15.

24:7 *verus Zorobabel*: Zorobabel, the advocate of truth as superior to the king and wine and women. III Esdræ iv, 13-41. See note on 19:12. See also Josephus, *Ant.* xi, 3.

24:13 *pretiosissimum* . . . *amici*: from *De Cons. Phil.* II, pr. 8; *desine amissas opes querere, quod pretiosissimum divitiarum genus est amicos invenisti*.

24:19 *perfectio rationis quæ bonum humanum proprie nominatur*: Compare Seneca's statement; *In homine optimum quid est? ratio: hac antecedit animalia, deos sequitur. Ratio ergo perfecta proprium bonum est*, *Epp.* IX, 5, 9.

25:12 *delectabilissima* . . . *virtutem*: *Arist. Eth.* X, 7, 3; *ἡδίστη δὲ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐνεργειῶν*.

25:16 *puritate et firmitate*: *Arist. Eth.* X, 7, 3; *δοκεῖ γοῦν ἡ φιλοσοφία θανμαστὰς ἡδονὰς ἔχειν καθαρῶς καὶ τῷ βέλτῳ*.

21; τὸ γοῦν φιλοσοφεῖν βέλτιον τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐχ αἰρετώτερον τῷ ἐνδεεῖ τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν.

26:11 *omnes homines natura scire desiderant*: See note 16:4.

THIRD CHAPTER

28:4 *Archiphilosophus* I cannot find elsewhere.

28:5 *regulam in natura*: Averroes, the Arabian commentator on Aristotle, praises him again and again in the highest manner. Aristotle is the *ultima perfectio hominis* (quoted in Roger Bacon, *Op. Maj.* Pars II, Cap. viii, a med.) and his abilities such as should be ascribed *potius divino statui quam humano* (Averroes, Venice Ed. 1550, IV, folio 3v, 2d col.).

28:8 *prior . . . posterior*: This is almost the duplicate of Aristotle's phrase regarding the inferiority of Anaxagoras to Empedocles; *τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ πρότερος ὢν τοῦτον τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ὑστερος*, *Metaph.* I, 3, 8.

28:10 *Timæi dialogum excerpssisse*: The proper reference is *Noct. Att.* III, 17 (not 16, as in the text).

29:21 *tantum valet, quantum habes*: from Gregory's *Hom.* in *Evang.* I, 5; *regnum Dei tantum valet, quantum habes*.

FOURTH CHAPTER

26:2-6 *philosophari . . . eligendum*: from *Arist. Top.* III, 2,

30:4-7 *semen . . . necat*: Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* X, 11, and

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Aristotle before him, *De Animal. Hist. IX, 29*, give accounts of the selfish ingratitude of the cuckoo. It seizes other birds' nests wherein to lay its eggs, robs their young of food, and attacks its own nurse.

30:17 "*Paps of Grammar*": Grammar was the first study begun in the introductory course called the Trivium, consisting of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics—the humanities. John of Salisbury calls grammar the *philosophie cunabulum*, *et, ut ita dixerim, totius litteratoris studii alitrix prima . . . quæ nutrit infantiam*, *Metalogicus, I, xiii*. Martianus Capella gives a lively picture of the nurse Grammar tending the infant learning to speak, *iii, 223-229*.

31:7 *tabula depingenda* reflects the idea first expressed by Aristotle's *ὡς περ ἐν γραμματεῖ ὡ μὲν ὑπάρχει ἐντελεχεία γεγραμμένον*, *De Anima, III, 4, 11*.

31:11 *quadriualium pennas . . . quatuor*: The Quadrivium followed the Trivium and embraced the four studies of music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy—the sciences. The Trivium and Quadrivium conjointly included the "seven liberal arts."

31:12-14 *ad amicum* sqq. is drawn from *Luc. XI, 5-8*. This "friend" is Theology, which furnishes the three loaves symbolizing the *intelligentia Trinitatis*.

31:15 *finalis felicitas*: Man's final felicity in heaven was

taught by Duns Scotus to consist in the love of God. The rival solution of this question was that of Thomas Aquinas, who argued that it consisted in the vision or knowledge of God.

Ultima et perfecta beatitudo, he writes, *non potest esse nisi in visione divinæ essentiae*, *Summa Theol. II, Quæst. iii, Art. viii*. Richard de Bury is here a Thomist. Dante takes the Thomist view of *la nostra ultima felicità*, *Convito I, 1. viator*, the traveller, becomes the pilgrim and hence the Christian in mediæval Latin. See note 109:18.

31:22 Those in *sortem Domini computati* were the clergy or *clerici*, so named from *κλήρος*, the lot or portion of the Lord.

32:1 *antonomastice* is the correct form for this word, which is written variously in mediæval writers; *autonomastice* (Bacon, *Op. Maj. II, Cap. viii, in med.*), *antonomastice* and *antonomasice* in John of Salisbury (*Metal. II, xvi, Polyc. VII, vi*), and *authonomastice* (Du Cange). In Stephanus, *Thesaurus Græc. Ling.*, the following occurs; *ἄντονομαστικός, ἡ, ὁν. Exstat certe Latinum adverbium antonomastice*. It is found in its correct form in *Petrus Pictaviensis, Sent. V, 22, sec. 35*, and in *Thomas Aquinas, In Ep. ad Romanos, I, lectio 1 (sub. fin.)*. It is derived from *ἄντονομασία*, which was brought into Latin grammar by Quintilian (*VIII, 6, 29 and 43*) and continued by the

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later grammarians. *Antonoma-*
sia is the use of an epithet in
place of a name, as *urbs*, "The
City," instead of *Roma*. So Ar-
istotle is called *antonomastice*
"The Philosopher," Averroes
"The Commentator," and Paul
"The Apostle." The mediæval
meaning is equivalent to *par ex-*
cellence, as is clear from *ad de-*
signandum excellentiam, ut sicut
Urbs antonomastice vocatur ipsa
Roma, ita Apostolus vocetur Pau-
lus in the above-mentioned pas-
sage from Thomas Aquinas, as
well as elsewhere.

32:5 *conficitis corpus Christi*:
Compare Jerome, Ep. xiv, 8;
Clerici, quia apostolico gradu suc-
cedentes, Christi corpus sacro ore
conficiunt. See also Mone's very
satisfactory note in Lat. Hymn.
I, p. 290.

32:10 St. Bernard calls the
goods of the church *Patrimonium*
Crucifixi: *Qui non de dote viduæ et*
Patrimonio Crucifixi se vel suos
dātare festinent (Du Cange).

33:10 "The forked way of the
Pythagorean figure" refers to the
letter *Y*, said to have been in-
vented by Pythagoras and sup-
posed to indicate by its broad
upper stroke forking leftwards
the way of wickedness and by its
narrow right hand stroke the way
of virtue. It is fully described
by Vincent of Beauvais, Spec.
Doct. II, 6, and Gervase of Til-
bury, Otia Imp. I, 20.

34:4 *solæ camenæ*: from Boe-
thius, De Cons. Phil. I, m. 1.

Eccē mihi lacernæ dictant scribendæ
Camenæ
Et veris elegi stētibz ora rigant.

34:11 *Legendus liber porrigitur*
refers to the *privilegium clericale*,
or benefit of clergy, which was
accorded to an accused person
who could read. Some verse
from the Psalter appears to have
been selected, this being the com-
mon reading book of the schools.

34: at end. "Let laymen endure
. . . victims to Juno": The sense
is, Let every one of the four ele-
ments, water, earth, fire, and air,
afford a form of death penalty for
the layman. Juno had dominion
over the air; *Aer autem, ut Stoici*
disputant, interjectus inter mare
et cælum, Junonis nomine conse-
cratur, quæ est soror et conjunx
Jovis, quod et similitudo est aeri
ætheris et cum eo summa conjunctio,
Cicero, De Nat. Deorum, II, 26,
sec. 66. Martianus Capella says
Juno is named *Hera* "*ab aeris*
regno," II, 149.

35:12-15 The marvelous leg-
end regarding the odour of the
female panther might easily fill
a chapter. Its source is in the
hunters' tale recorded by Aris-
totle, with his cautious *λέγουσιν*
prefixed: Wild beasts delight in
its odour, and hence it conceals
itself in order to capture them
when thus attracted. The story
is copied by Pliny, Hist. Nat.
VIII, 23, and extended to all
animals, *quadrupedas cunctas*,
which proves *omnes* the right
reading against *homines* in ACD.
The tale is also found in Ælian,

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Theophrastus, Solinus, and John of Salisbury (Polyc. VIII, xii). The Oxford Glossary (s. v. *Panthera*) to the Philobiblon has the legend fully elaborated. I translate part of it: "When it has eaten and is sated, it returns from its prey to its own cave and lies down to sleep for three days. Upon arising from sleep it instantly sends forth a roar through the depths of the forest and at the same time emits an odour of marvelous sweetness, surpassing any honey or spiced drink. Then all the beasts which hear its voice, gathering together from near and far, follow after, by reason of the marvelous sweetness of its smell. The dragon alone, when he hears its voice, hides himself in subterranean caverns, and there, being unable to endure the power of the odour, coils up in a stupor, remaining motionless and inactive as though he were dead. All other animals follow the panther whithersoever it goes."

36:19 *bestia bipedalis* was bad enough as a mediæval slur on woman, but *scilicet mulier* was added with brutal frankness by some later copyist. It occurs in the Cologne MS., the *editio princeps*, and the printed text derived therefrom.

37:8 *syndonem et sericum*: Silk and "sendal" seem to have been used together in one garment. See "j robe longe pur femme, garnisse de soy et sendal," Catholicon Anglicum, p. 329, note. Sendal may be thin silk,

material for shirts and sheets, or even a kind of fur.

37:9 *furratura* is defined as "a Furre" in the Catholicon Anglicum, p. 146. It also means a lining.

37:12 The *volumen Theophrasti vel Valerii* was a favourite mediæval book. Chaucer refers to it: He hadde a booke that gladly nyght and day For his desport he wolde rede alway. He cleped it "Valerie" and "Theophraste" At which booke he lough alwey ful faste. Cant. T., Wife's Preamble, 10,711.

It contained two prose treatises, the *De Nuptiis*, attributed to Theophrastus, an abstract of which is preserved in a fragment of Seneca's lost work, *De Matrimonio*, from which it was probably copied by Jerome, Adv. Jovinianum I, 47. John of Salisbury reproduces Jerome's account, Polyc. VIII, xi. See also Hugo of St. Victor's *De Nuptiis*, I, 1.

This *aureolus liber*, as Seneca calls it, had for its burden the question whether a wise man should marry. This is answered affirmatively, provided the wife is to be beautiful, virtuous, of good family, sound in health, and rich. But as these things *raro universa concordant* in marriage, the conclusion is that the wise man will shun it.

The treatise of Valerius (not Valerius Maximus), *De Uxore Non Ducenda*, was to the same effect. It is the work of some mediæval writer, and was sometimes ascribed to Walter Map,

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- who expressly asserts that he composed it.
- 37:14** The twenty-fifth chapter of Ecclesiasticus portrays fully the malice of the evil woman: "All malice is short to the malice of a woman," v. 26.
- 38:10** *utriusque Lazari . . . putredinem*: The one Lazarus is the beggar, *ulceribus plenus*, of Luc. xvi, and the other is Lazarus in the grave, Joan xi, 39. The *putredo* of the beggar was due to his sores, and of the other to his death.
- 38:12** *cedri resina*, or *cedria*, is the gum of the cedar, which was put on books to preserve them against destruction by rotting or from the boring of insects.
- 39:10** *in constantem* refers to the legal maxim in Bracton, II, 5, 14; *Debemus accipere metum non . . . vani vel meticulosi hominis sed talem qui cadere possit in virum constantem* (Thomas).
- 39:10-14** *Judeis committimur, Sarracenis . . . esse corruptos*: Compare Roger Bacon's lament: . . . *istis temporibus inimici Christianorum, ut Greci, et Arabes, et Hebrei, habeant scientias apud linguas suas, non concedunt Christianis libros veros, sed detruncant et corrumpunt omnes. . . . Sed non oportet cumulare exempla, quia plura sunt quam posset aliquis enarrare.* Comp. Stud. Phil. c. viii.
- 39:15** *architectonici*: Augustine uses *ars architectonica* of the decorative work of Bezeleel on the tabernacle, and refers to its standard meaning as *quæ pertinet ad fabricas ædificiorum*, II Quæst.
- in Heptateuch, 169. *Architectonicus* as a noun I cannot find in the dictionaries.
- 40:11** *pseudoversificus* I do not find in any dictionary.
- 40:12** *Martialis Cocus*, or simply *Cocus*, "the cook," was a favourite mediæval name for Martial, perhaps from his references to cookery. As his poems were sometimes labeled *Martialis totus*, the mistake may have come from confounding *totus* and *cocus*, *t* and *c* being often almost indistinguishable in MSS.
- 40:16** *Quem recitas*: Martial, I, 39.
- 41:5** *Carmentis . . . Cadmi*: The sense is that the Latins constantly plundered Greek literature. Cadmus brought the alphabet into Greece, and Evander carried it into Italy, where his mother, Carmentis, who went with him, converted the Greek into Roman letters.
- 41:6** *Anglia . . . Parisius . . . Bononiam*: Oxford, Paris, and Bologna, the principal universities in the early fourteenth century, were naturally great centers for the copying of books.

FIFTH CHAPTER

- 43:2** *possessionatos*: The *possessionati*, or "possessioners," were the monastic orders possessing endowments and rich ecclesiastical benefices, in contrast to the *mendicantes*, or begging orders.

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- 43:8 The *horæ canonicae*, or "hours" of prayer, regulated the daily round of monastic life. They were originally seven in number, being based on the text *Septies in die laudem dixi tibi*, Ps. cxviii, 164. First came nocturns at midnight, or cockerowing, then matins about dawn, followed by prime, terce, sexte, and none at the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours after sunrise, and vespers, or even-song, an hour before sunset. When prime fell into disuse, compline (*completorium*) was added as a last service before bedtime. See Morley's Eng. Writers, IV, 138.
- 43:12 "Cherubic books," I think, refers to the excellence of their contents, the *plenitudo scientiæ* to be found in them. The cherubim were named from this, according to mediæval theology; *Cherubim plenitudo scientiæ dicitur*, Gregory, Hom. in Evang. II, 34; 10. Furthermore De Bury goes on to write that the purpose of these "cherubic books" was *ad dandam scientiam*.
- 43:last line. Both *activa* and *contemplativa* occur as nouns in mediæval Latin. Compare *Patres scientiam referunt ad activam, ad contemplativam vero sapientiam*, John of Salisbury, Metal. IV, cap. xix. Martha and Mary, and Rachel and Leah, are the types of the active and contemplative life. The distinction comes from philosophy. Compare *Philosophia autem et con-*
- templativa est et activa: spectat simul agitque*, Seneca, Epp. XV, 3, 10.
- 45:8-13 From *Liber Bacchus* to *nocte dieque* appears to be a snatch from some mediæval doggerel song, and the following *tanquam . . . libro patrum* a punning sequel to it. The MSS. all contain it, but it sounds strangely like a gloss of some scribe, which has crept into the text.
- 45:13-19 The numerous word-plays in this passage, as well as its sense, might easily be illustrated by many examples. Compare *clerici namque nostri temporis potius sequuntur scholas Antichristi quam Christi, potius dediti gulæ quam glossæ, potius colligunt libras quam legunt libros*, Alanus, Summa de Arte Præd. xxxvi. So in Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, Lib. III:
- Sic libras sitiens liberos non appetit,
immo
Marcoam pro Marco construit ipse
libro:
Summas non summa memoratur, et
optima vina
Plusquam divina computat esse sacra:
Virtutis morem non sed mulieris amorem
Quærit, et hoc solo tentat arare solo.
- 45:15 (p. 49:1 in 2d Vol.) Timotheus of Miletus improved the lyre by adding one string. The music produced by his lyre was condemned by the rulers of Miletus as voluptuous and immoral. De Bury may have taken the reference from Boethius, De Musica, I, 10.
- 46:2 The *canonici seculares* were bound by the rules governing all

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the clergy. The *canonici regulares* were bound in addition by the *regula* of Augustine.

46:3 *geminata regula*, the "double rule" imposed on the Dominican Order (*Prædicatores*, Black Friars). It was composed of the so-called "rule of Augustine" and of constitutions taken from the statutes of the Premonstratensians. Compare 48:20 sqq. It is uncertain when the "rule of Augustine" was composed, but it certainly was not composed by him.

46:7-8 I have given this as a couplet because De Bury expressly calls it *notabilem versiculum regulæ*, though the second line is metrically defective. It is made out of a sentence in one of Augustine's letters prescribing rules for nuns; *Codices certa hora singulis diebus petantur; extra horam quæ petiverint non accipiant*, Epp. 109 (sometimes numbered 211 or 247).

46:11 *relictum aratrum intueri*: The meaning is plain. Many a monk had once been a dull plough-boy. On such the monastic discipline sat uncomfortably, and the desire to return to the old plough and become a rustic once more was but natural. See note 17:16. *Civitates derelictas sicut aratra* occurs in Isai. xvii, 9.

46:15 *aleis et tavillis*: Dice and draughts were common gambling games, to which the monks were addicted. "Hasardrie with his

apurtenaunces, as tables and raffles," is denounced by the Parson in Chaucer, Cant. T., Parson's Tale, under *Sequitur de avaricia*. Compare the closing sentence of De Bury's eighteenth chapter, John of Salisbury's denunciation of dicing, Polyc. I, 5, and Isidore's chapter *De Interdictione Aleæ*, Etym. XIX, 68.

48:18 *Prædicatorum ordinem*: The Dominican Order obtained Papal sanction in 1216 only on condition of adopting some existing rule. The "rule of Augustine" was accordingly taken, together with statutes of the Premonstratensians. See note 46:3. The two main objects of the order are stated in the prologue to their Constitutions: *Ordo noster specialiter ob prædicationem et animarum salutem ab initio noscitur institutus fuisse, et studium nostrum ad hoc debet principaliter intendere ut proximorum animabus possimus utiles esse*, Holstenius, *Codex Regulæ*, IV, 10.

49:7 *ventris . . . vestium . . . domorum*, the particulars of the *triplex cura superflua*, recall Roger Bacon's *Totus clerus vacat superbie, luxurie et avaritie*, Comp. Stud. Phil. I.

49:18 *œdificiorum fabricæ . . . paupertati non convenit*: In a similar vein is the fourteenth century song:

Why make yee so costly houses
To dwell in, sith Christ did not so?
Wright, *Political Songs*, II, 20.

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49:21 *Hiberas nēnias et apocrypha deliramenta* is taken from Jerome; *Multi ignorantes apocryphorum deliramenta sequuntur et Hiberas nēnias libris authenticis præferunt*, Contra Rufinum, II, 25. See also his Præfatio ad Desid. in Pent. Moysis. He explains its meaning in his comment In Isaiam lxiv, 4, 5. *Apocryphorum deliramenta* refers *inter alia* to such books as the Ascension of Isaiah and the Apocalypse of Elias, by reason of which many *Hispaniarum et Lusitanicæ* deceptæ sunt.

50:8 *asserit Augustinus*: Compare *Tanta est enim Christianarum profunditas litterarum, ut in eis quotidie proficerem, si eas solas ab ineunte pueritia usque ad decrepitam senectutem maximo otio, summo studio, meliore ingenio conarer addiscere*, Augustine, Epp. 137, 1, 3.

50:15 "The first professors of evangelical poverty": The two Mendicant Orders, Dominicans and Franciscans, whose vow included poverty, following the example of Christ and his Apostles.

50:16 *salutatas scientias sæculares*: So Abelard declared of secular studies; *Non debemus in eis consensescere sed potius a liminibus salutare* (cited by Thomas from Denifle, Univ. des Mittelalters, p. 99). Compare the Dominican regulation cited by Cocheris (pp. 57-59): *In libris gentilium philosophorum non studeat, et si ad horam suscipiat seculares scientias*

non addiscat, nec artes quas liberales vocant.

51:7 *anthropospathos* (*antropospatos* in the MSS.) is not in the dictionaries. Thomas Aquinas defines it in his Comm. in Isaiam, Cap. II, sub fin.; *Loquitur de Deo ad similitudinem hominis per figuram antropospatos*. Thomas cites an instance from Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. in Gen. c. xxxi.

51:13 *Danielem et Habacuc cocti pulmenti discophorum*: derived from Dan. xiv, 32-38:

Now there was in Judea a prophet called Habacuc: and he had boiled pottage and had broken bread in a bowl; and was going into the field to carry it to the reapers.

And the Angel of the Lord said unto Habacuc: Carry the dinner which thou hast into Babylon to Daniel, who is in the lions' den.

And Habacuc said: Lord, I never saw Babylon; nor do I know of the den.

And the Angel of the Lord took him by the top of his head, and carried him by the hair of his head, and set him in Babylon over the den in the force of his spirit.

And Habacuc cried, saying: O Daniel, thou servant of God, take the dinner that God hath sent thee.

And Daniel said: Thou hast remembered me, O God; and thou hast not forsaken them that love thee.

And Daniel arose, and ate. And the Angel of the Lord presently set Habacuc again in his own place.

Dan. xiv, 32-38, Douay Version.

Habukkuk is described as *rap-tum discophorum* by Jerome in his Preface to Daniel.

52:15 *parvus error*: quoted from Aristotle in Roger Bacon's Op. Maj. III, sub fin. The original is τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ μικρὸν ἐν τῇ

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τελευτῇ γίνεται παμμέγεθες, De Cælo, I, 5, 2.

53:6 *lapides mittitis in acervum Mercurii*: from *mittit lapidem in acervum Mercurii*, Prov. xxvi, 8.

What the "heap of Mercury" means here is not easy to say, for *acervus Mercurii* has various mediæval interpretations, as John of Salisbury testifies; *Hoc a diversis diverso modo exponitur*, Polyc. V, c. viii. He thinks it refers to some device for counting or reckoning, and *mittere ergo lapidem in acervum quo regitur ratio calculandi est totam turbare calculi rationem* (loc. cit.). Holkot is cited by Thomas to the same effect, *Acervus computi vel rationis vocatur acervus Mercurii*, and interprets "casting a stone on the heap of Mercury" to mean ecclesiastically the putting of *unus idiota vel insipiens loco prelati et loco Dei*, Super Sap. i. 133b. These two explanations may contain De Bury's meaning. Alanus has a different and more fanciful explanation, Dist. Theol. s. v. *Acervus*.

I am inclined to suggest that as *acervus Mercurii* meant a heap of stones (see Prov. xxvi, 8, Revised Version), it may have been originally the name for a pile of stones cast one by one by different travelers on a mountain top in honour of

the herald Mercury
New lighted on some heaven-kissing hill.

To cast a stone upon the heap of Mercury would then mean to do some ineffectual and useless or even idolatrous thing.

54:14 *frontes gementium Tau signabat*: from *signa Thau super frontes virorum gementium*, Ezech. ix, 4. Tau was one of the mystical Christian letters and was variously interpreted. Its different senses are recorded by Origen, In Ezech. ix, 4, in an account of a dispute as to its meaning. One argued that as Tau was the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet it indicated the perfection of those on whom it was set. Another said it stood for *Thora*, the Law, and was the symbol of those who kept it. But a third said that it was the sign of the Cross, for such was the ancient form of Tau (+) in Hebrew. This is the sense adopted by Tertullian, Adv. Marcion, III, 22, and Jerome, In Ezech. ix, 4, and the orthodox mediæval meaning. See also Isidore Etym. I, 3:8, 9, and Mone, Lat. Hymn. I, p. 247. De Bury adds a new interpretation in his favourite *contrario* way: Those who cannot "make the mark Tau," that is, cannot write, are unfit to preach.

SEVENTH CHAPTER

56:2-3 *Phronesis* first appears as a Latin word in Martianus Capella, II, 27. *Pia mater Phronesis* is the mother of *Philologia*. *Phronesis* or *Prudentia* appears frequently in the Anticlaudianus of Alanus. John of Salisbury has *virtus, quam Græci φρόνησις, Latini prudentiam vocant*, Metal. IV, 11. *Phronesis*, or frenzy, is the natural antithesis to sound wisdom. It is a disease, *acutus*

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morbis qui aut cito transit aut celarius interficit, Isidore, Etym. IV, 6, 1.

56:10 *orbis dominum*: his pupil Alexander.

56:12-16 *Socratis ædibus* occurs in AB and *sacratiss ædibus* in CD. It is not altogether easy to choose between them. Horace's *domus Socratica*, Odes I, 29, as the name for a philosopher's home, and Seneca's *Socraticus fastus*, Dial. IX, 7, 5, for the followers of Socrates, joined with the common tradition to the effect that Aristotle lived three years with Socrates as a pupil, have influenced me in favor of *Socratis*. I cannot say to what story about Aristotle this passage refers. For the military sense of *scurra* and *lanista* in late Latin see *scurræ barbari manu perit* in Forcellini and *lanista* in Du Cange.

56:18 *divinitatem probatam*: Plato's divinity was believed in by his pupils immediately after his death. Diogenes Laertius, III Vita Platonis, records that one of the inscriptions on his tomb contained the line:

ψυχὴ δ' ἀθανάτων τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων.

For notices in writers used by De Bury compare the *Platonis probata divinitas* of the pseudo-Boethius, De Disciplina Scholarium, and John of Salisbury's *dū dubitatum fuerit diis an semideis esset potius aggregandus*, Polyc. VII, 5. "Plato . . . with all his divinityship" is in Tristram Shandy, Bk. VI, ch. xxxvi.

56:20 *hylem endelechia*: Compare Aristotle Metaph. XI, 8, 12; τὸ δὲ τι ἦν εἶναι οὐκ ἔχει ὕλην· ἐντελέχεια γάρ. *Endelechia*, as it was written in mediæval Latin, was the *vox et crux metaphysicorum*. Hermolaus Barbarus in despair resorted to the devil for an explanation, and Joannes Pasche, as late as 1684, wrote a volume to explain its meaning. *Forma absoluta* in the Oxford Glossary (s. v. *edelechia*) agrees with De Bury's use. ὕλη and ἐντελέχεια are fully treated in Aristotle's De Anima, II, 1.

56:21 *species ideales*: Plato's ideal forms, according to which the sensible universe is modeled, are explained in the earlier part of his Timæus.

57:5 *vespillo* originally meant a grave-digger or paupers' undertaker, and then a grave-robber. Its later form *vespilio* meant a night-robber, and was even applied to marauding soldiers, and *vispilio*, or *vispillo*, the form in the best MSS. of the Philobiblon, is expressly applied by way of abuse to the irruption of Scots over the English border in 1389—*tot millia Vispillorum*. See Du Cange. "Like vespilloes, or grave-makers," occurs in Religio Medici, xxxviii.

57:6 *bellorum incentricibus furis*: The death of Pythagoras was due to an insurrection in Crotona. See Diog. Laert. VIII, 1, 40, and Iamblichus, De Pyth. Vita, xxxv, sec. 255, Didot's Ed.

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57:8-12 *Zenonis principis Stoicorum*: There are three Zenos, Zeno the Stoic, who is not De Bury's Zeno, Zeno the Eleatic, who is, and a third Zeno who lived in the time of Cicero. The source of the story is in Diogenes Laertius, IX, 5, according to whom Zeno the Eleatic spat his tongue at the tyrant Nearchus, who was thereupon attacked and dethroned by the angry people. "But Hermippus says," adds Diogenes Laertius, "that he was seized and brayed to death in a mortar."

Diomedon, and not Nearchus, is Hermippus's tyrant. He is mentioned in Diog. Laert. IX, 27. The story of Zeno is found also in Valerius Maximus, but much distorted. Nearchus is the tyrant and Zeno bites off the tyrant's ear, III, 3, Ext. 3. Boethius preserves the story more accurately, but without mentioning the name of either philosopher or tyrant, De Cons. II, pr. 6. Consult Cicero, De Nat. Deor. III, 82.

57:17 *primo* seemed to me at first the reading of the abbreviation in A. A closer inspection shows it to be a poorly formed *secundo*. The account in Aulus Gellius, VI, 17, gives *bello priore Alexandrino*.

57:18 *septuaginta . . . conflagrarunt*: There were three destructions of the Alexandrine libraries by fire. The first occurred when Julius Cæsar entered Alexandria and his "auxiliaries"

carelessly set fire to the library; the second in 389, in the time of Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria; and the third by order, as is said, of the Caliph Omar. I have retained *septuaginta*, which is in all the best MSS., against the *septingenta* of Aulus Gellius, VI, 17. It is not unlikely, I think, that De Bury had a copy of Aulus Gellius which read *septuaginta*. Isidore gives the number as *septuaginta*, which is undoubtedly the true reading of his text, Etym. VI, 3, 5, and a foot-note to the passage in Migne's edition, vol. LXXXII, 235, note *d*, refers to Aulus Gellius as agreeing with it. Seneca says that only *quadraginta milia librorum Alexandria arserunt*, De Tranq. Animi, I, 9 (Haase's Ed., Leipsic, 1887). The only authority for the destruction of seven hundred thousand volumes at Alexandria is the *septingenta* of Aulus Gellius. What the historic facts are is still a matter of conflicting opinion.

57:22 *capitula sexto decimo*: The correct reference is Noct. Att. VI, 17 (not 16), though 16 may have been the number of the section in De Bury's copy.

58:1 *proles Atlantica*: The progeny of Atlas, who upheld the heavens, means the astronomical sciences, as the rest of the sentence indicates.

58:16 *collo irreflexo cælum describitur sustulisse*: in Boethius, De Cons. Phil. IV, m. 7:

Ultimus cælum labor irreflexo
Sustulit collo.

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58:17 *secundo* at Alexandria in the destruction of the astronomical books, his *labores*, and the first time on the funeral pile which he mounted after being poisoned by the shirt of Nessus.

58:19 *Jonithus*: a supposed fourth son of Noah and the first astronomer. See Cocheris's full note.

58:21 *Zoroastes germanus ejusdem*: Zoroaster was identified with Ham; *Zoroastes invenit Artes Magicas*. . . . *Hic fuit Cham filius Noe*, Roger Bacon, Op. Maj. Pars II, cap. viii, p. 31, Jebb's Ed.

58:22 *Bactrianis*: Compare *Magorum primus Zoroastes rex Bactrianorum*, Isidore, Etym. VIII, 9, 1. Compare Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxx, 1.

59:3-5 *quæ primus Adam . . . præviderat*: According to the Itala version of Genesis ii, 21, *Deus immisit ecstasim in Adam et obdormivit*. This *ecstasis* was Adam's "deep sleep," sent that in it he might be made prophetically acquainted with the Divine secrets regarding the future, as Augustine explains; *ut . . . intrans in sanctuarium Dei intelligeret in novissima*, De Genesi ad Litteram, IX, 19. And also Thomas Aquinas; *qualis immittitur Prophetis ad videndum aliquas illustrationes divinas*, Expos. in Gen. ii, 21. *raptus in ecstasi* comes from II Cor. xii, 4.

59:7-8 *liber Logostilius*, or *Logostelios*, as John of Salisbury more accurately writes it, De Septem Septenis, Migne 960, is the name of a treatise attributed to Hermes Trismegistus and mentioned by Augustine, whose account John of Salisbury copied. The passage in Augustine is: *Hermes, qui Latine Mercurius dicitur, scripsit librum qui Δόγος τέλειος appellatur, id est, Verbum Perfectum: magnum nomen libri hujus, quia magnus est de quo scriptus est*, Adv. Quinque Hæreses, cap. iii (4), (Migne viii, 1102). Augustine, and John of Salisbury following him, goes on to quote the treatise at some length. Clement of Alexandria gives a list of the titles of the forty-two works of Hermes Trismegistus, but Δόγος τέλειος does not appear in it. It is probably a name given in admiration by its readers, and from its treating of the *religio Egyptiorum* would be properly applied to the ten *λεπτά βιβλία* mentioned by Clement, Strom. VI, 8, p. 255 in Migne. The Δόγος τέλειος survives only in its Latin translation, the *Asclepius*, sive *Dialogus Hermis Trismegisti* of Apuleius. In it the ancient religion of Egypt is highly extolled. Compare *terra ista sanctissima, sedes delubrorum atque templorum*, c. xxiv, and (*Egyptus*) *quæ sancta et quondam divinitatis amantissima deorum in terra suæ religionis merito*, c. xxv.

59:9 sqq. *veterum Athenarum*: The perfect Athens which ex-

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isted nine thousand years earlier than Plato's Athens, according to the legend he records in the *Timæus*. The list of sciences recorded in this passage is fairly staggering. The good Bishop puts into the flames of Alexandria almost everything he can name, with the comprehensive addition of *alia infinita secreta scientiarum*. For these pseudo-sciences consult Cocheris's full notes (pp. 75, 76) and Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus Veteris Testamenti*.

59:21 *Aristotelem de circuli quadratura*: Aristotle doubted whether the circle could be squared. Compare $\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\epsilon\tau\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\eta\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu$, *Categor.* V, 18, and $\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\tau\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\iota\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\ \kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\lambda\omicron}\varsigma$, *De Soph. Elench.* XI, 3. Bacon amusingly says of this: *quadraturam circuli se ignorasse confitetur, quod his diebus scitur veraciter*, *Op. Maj.* I, vi.

60:3 *de mundi æternitate problema neutrum*: Discussed in Aristotle, *De Cælo*, I, and II, 1, and referred to in Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.* V, pr. 6, 19. Bacon says of the blame cast on Aristotle for not solving the problem, *Ad hæc reprehenditur de mundi æternitate, quam nimis inexpressum reliquit; nec mirum cum ipsemet dixit se non omnia novisse*, *Op. Maj.* I, c. vi.

61:4 This "transfer of books" made by Xerxes and Seleucus is recorded in Aulus Gellius, VI, 17.

61:17 Martene, in the *Consuetudines Veteres* of the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris, records the following rule against crowding books in the library: *libri separatim collocari . . . ne nimia compressio ipsis libris noceat*, *De Ant. Eccl. Ritibus*, III, 262 App.

61:22 *Gades* in fourteenth century usage meant any boundary or limit.

62:1 *rector Olympi*: God, not Jupiter. For this sense compare *flammanis Olympi rectorem*, Alanus, *Antic.* VI, 2 sub fin. For Olympus in the sense of the Christian Heaven compare:

Tu, Christe, nostrum gaudium
Manens Olympo præmium.
Mone, *Lat. Hymn.* I, 172.

65:14 *panfletus* I have been unable to find in any lexicon.

66:2 *pigmentaria potio*, or *pigmentum*, was piment, a favourite mediæval drink made of spiced wine mixed with honey.

66:9 *paradisum mundi Parisius*: Cocheris (pp. 83, 84) patriotically records the mediæval praise of Paris in an elaborate note. He quotes a poem of the thirteenth century which recites its literary eminence:

O dulcis Parisius, parens sine pare,
Solita scholaribus bona tot parare,
Urbs nulla se audeat tibi comparare.

Also a ballad by Eustache Deschamps, a contemporary of De Bury:

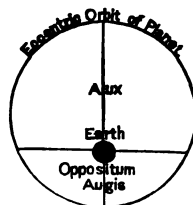
C'est la cité sur toutes couronnée
Fontaine et puis de sens et de clergie,
Sur la fleuve de la Seine située.

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66:20 *sublunaris* is cited in Forcellini with one example of its use from Chalcidius. The word occurs as early as Boethius, who uses *quidquid sublunari globo* of earthly things, In Porphyrium, Dial. I, ab init.; Migne lxiv, 11. In the Arabian astronomy terrestrial things are spoken of as *ea quæ sunt hic, id est, quæ sub orbe lunæ*, Averroes, Epit. in Lib. Metaph. Tract. IV, f. 185, 2d col., Venice ed. 1550, IX, 185, and *sub circulo lunæ*, Avicenna quoted by Roger Bacon, Op. Maj. p. 112, Jebb's Ed. I have found four instances of *sublunaris* in John of Salisbury, Entheticus sive de Dog. Phil. 831 and 1059, Polyc. II, 19, and De Septem Septenis, VII, p. 962 in Migne. *superlunaris* also is to be found in Alanus, title to AntiClaud. V, c. 6.

66:21 *auges*: the plural of *aux*, an astronomical term taken from the Arabic *awj*, which means the top or summit, and is used to denote either the apogee, or point of greatest distance of the sun or a planet from the earth in the eccentric orbits of the Ptolemaic system, or the planet's eccentric orbit itself. Roger Bacon's definition is involved in his statement, *nam una pars eccentrici quæ vocatur oppositum augis descendit ad terram per quinque partes semidiametri magis quam reliqua quæ dicitur aux*, Op. Maj. Pars IV, Dist. IV, Cap. IV, p. 83, Jebb's Ed. The following diagram may make the matter clearer, *aux*

being the apogee and *oppositum augis* the perigee:



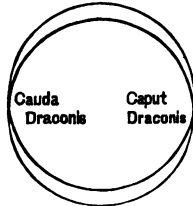
Roger Bacon uses the forms *aux*, *augis*, *augem*, *auge*, *auges*, *augium*, and *augibus*. I have noticed twenty-two instances in his Opus Majus. Thomas Aquinas has *motus augis vel apogæi, id est, maximæ distantie in circulo eccentrico*, Comm. in Arist. De Cælo, Lib. II, Lectio XVII, a med. As "Auge" has the sanction of long use in the older English, I have employed it to translate *aux*.

Gensachar: This puzzling word, whose meaning had baffled me, has been explained by Mr. Thomas. It is, as Dr. Steinschneider shows in the Zeitschrift d. d. morgenl. Gesell. xviii, 195, and xxv, 418, more properly written *gensahar*, *gezahar*, or *zensahar*, *zezahar*. It is the Perso-Arabic word for dragon, and is an astronomical term. The *liber Archachelis* defines it as follows: *significatur et per caput et per caudam draconis quod Arabes dicunt zezahar*. The head and tail of "the Dragon" mean the two points of intersection of the equator with

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the ecliptic, that is to say, the nodes.

Averroes says that the *motus draconis* was a discovery in astronomy later than Aristotle, and his comment is illustrated in the Venice edition of 1550 (Vol. IX, f. 154v, 2d Col. and f. 155) with this figure:



Thomas Aquinas discusses the astronomy of the two points *qui dicuntur nodi, sive caput et cauda*, Comm. in Arist. De Cælo, Lib. II, Lectio XVII, a med.

66:22 *Paulus arcana revelat*: The Apostle Paul, of course. This is clear from the fact that in the next clause Dionysius the Areopagite is styled his *convicinus*. That Paul taught Dionysius, his convert, the heavenly mysteries, which he had beheld when rapt in ecstasy to the third heaven, was the settled mediæval belief. Compare the works of Dionysius, the *De Div. Nom.* c. vii, and the *Encomium ex Menœis Græcis* in Migne VIII, 584, and especially the *scholium* of St. Maximus; *Ἀποστολὴ δὲ ὁ μέγας Διονύσιος διὰ τὴν μυστηρίων πάντα παρέδωκε τοῖς ἀγίοις ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόστολος*, In Cæl. Hier. VI, 2, Vol. VIII of Migne. Compare

arcana vitæ æternæ . . . quæ vidit Apostolus, Roger Bacon, Op. Maj. I, 10. Also *arcana verba quæ non licet homini loqui*, II Cor. xii, 4.

67:1 *Dionysius . . . hierarchias coordinat*: See note 18: 9-10.

67:3 *Carmenis*: See note 41: 5.

67:15 *professores* is the undoubted MSS. reading, but is ungrammatical. Cocheris, followed by Thomas, corrects it to *professorum*. As it looks like the author's own slip, made in dictating a very long and intricate sentence, and could easily arise from the proximity of *quos*, I have left it unchanged.

67:20 *ostensivus* is the equivalent of *demonstrativus*. Boethius, Arist. Prior. Analyt. I, 22, has a chapter headed *De Syllogismo Ostensivo*.

69:11 *generalia studia: studium generale* as a name for a university was applied to Oxford quite early, Maxwell Lyte, Hist. Univ. Oxford, p. 5, and to Cambridge as early as 1318 in a Bull of Pope John XXII, Bass-Mullinger, Hist. Univ. Camb. p. 145.

72:4 *Prædicatorum . . . et Minorum*: the two powerful Mendicant Orders. See notes 48:18 and 50:15. The Franciscans were founded by St. Francis of Assisi in 1210, who named them *Fratres Minores*. From their dress they were also called Gray Friars.

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- 72:8** *tabulatio* occurs in Forcellini, but only in its classical sense of planking or flooring. Its mediæval meaning as applied to books seems to refer to the making of tables of contents or indexes.
- 73:15** *pectorales arterias*: According to ancient medicine the body was well if the *pectus* was well (Aristotle, *Nat. Ausc.* V, 1). The tubes by which the lungs were supplied with air were called *arteriæ*. The pectoral arteries accordingly regulated the voice and speech. Martianus Capella describes grammar as purging *arterias etiam pectusque cujusdam medicaminis adhibitione*, III, 224.
- 75:2** As the title of this chapter falls into a couplet I have so displayed it.
- 76:5** *inattigibilis* in Du Cange has only one example, *inattigibili gloria*. *Inattigibilem divinam justitiam* occurs in Isidore, *Sent.* II, 7, 5.
- 76:6** The grammar of Phocas, a grammarian of the fifth century, was a standard mediæval text book.
- 76:21** *De Vetula* is the title of a poem whose authorship was attributed to Ovid in the middle ages, though some, as Roger Bacon, *Op. Maj.* p. 168, Jebb's Ed., and Holkot, *Super Sap.* f. 103, speak of its authorship as uncertain. It is still a matter of uncertainty beyond the fact that it is not the work of Ovid.
- 77:14 sqq.** *Valerius*: The four examples here cited from Valerius Maximus, VIII, 7, are all in the order in which they there occur. *Carneades* comes from Ext. 5, *Isocrates* from 9, *Sophocles* from 12, *Simonides* from 13. De Bury seems to have run his eye through the chapter and taken whatever suited him, as he met it.
- 78:1** *teste se ipso*: Taken from *Neque longiora mihi dari spatia vivendi volo, quam dum ero ad hanc quoque facultatem scribendi commentandique idoneus*, Noct. Att. prologus, sub fin.
- 78:6-13** *Athenienses . . . redibat* contains the story said by Aulus Gellius to have been told by his teacher Taurus, Noct. Att. VI, 10.
- 78:14** *Archimedis*: The story is based on Valerius Maximus, VIII, 7, Ext. 7.
- 79:1** Mr. Thomas has observed that the passage beginning *Ambitione siquidem* and extending through *vix faucibus humectatis*, in line 10, with two extracts from the sixth chapter preceding it (*Uncinis pomorum . . . perniciem animarum*, 52:5-21, and *Quemadmodum psittacus . . . prophetæ magistra*, 53:14-19), appears in somewhat altered form in the Oxford Chancellor's and Proctor's book under the year 1358. It is a memorandum directed against those who secure

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the doctor's degree by influence. Such are recorded as always being of the Mendicant Orders. See Anstey's *Munimenta*, I, 207-208.

79:12 *debile fundamentum*: *Debile fundamentum fallit opus* is a well-known legal maxim: Broom, *Legal Maxims*, 174 (Thomas).

79:21 *cathedris seniorum*: Ps. cvi, 32. Compare the mediæval poem entitled *Disputatio Mundi et Religionis*:

Quod si Christi cupiunt esse sectatores
Cur cathedras ambiunt et querunt honores?
Jam se ipsos faciunt fieri doctores
Et Rabbi recipiunt et scribarum mores.
Edited by Hauréau in *Bibl. de l'école de Chartres*, 1894.

80:1 *Perihermenias* is the common mediæval name for Aristotle's treatise *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, or *De Interpretatione*.

80:2 *calamum in corde*: John of Salisbury, *Metal.* III, c. iv, copies the statement of Isidore, *Etym.* II, 27, *liber perihermenias subtilissimus . . . de quo dicitur: Aristoteles quando perihermenias scriptabat, calamum in mente tingebat*. It seems to come from Suidas, who says, however, that Aristotle dipped his pen in his brain, τὸν κάλαμον ἀποβρέχων εἰς τοῦν.

80:7 "They lay violent hands on holy Moses" means they attempt to exercise the priestly office unlawfully. The key to the meaning of the passage is found in expressions in John of

Salisbury's writings. Keeping in view the seditious attempt of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (Num. xvi) against Moses, he comments on the similar behaviour of those who seek the priesthood by unlawful means; *Alius . . . violenter in sancta irrui . . . et seditionem concitabit in Moysen*, Polyc. VII, 17; *Hi templum Domini et Sancta sanctorum, Moyse repugnante, id est lege Domini prohibente, nituntur irrumpere and irruunt in Moysen . . . nisi ad sacerdotium permittantur accedere*, Polyc. VII, 20. Elsewhere he characterizes them as *digni qui corruant gladio Moysi* and explains his meaning by the phrase *contra Ecclesiam moliantur*, Epp. cccxxi.

80:12 The *papalis provisio* was the Papal promise of appointment to an ecclesiastical dignity, secured in expectation of a vacancy. It was resisted as illegal by English churchmen, and its scandalous abuse, seen in the intrusion of aliens into English benefices, led to the Statute of Provisors against it in 1350 and soon after to the sweeping Statute of *Præmunire*.

Although De Bury became Bishop of Durham in 1333 by virtue of the *papalis provisio*, it must be remembered that he was not an alien, and that the appointment was made in accordance with the King's desire. Edward himself resisted the Papal "provision" in a vigorous proclamation, dated Jan. 30th, 1344 (Rymer, III, p. 2), and this

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passage may have taken its strong tone from the King's attitude.

the German variants, and even *thalamo* in the Brussels MS. 11465.

80:17 *nepotibus et alumnis*: Compare Roger Bacon's complaint against the prelates; *negligunt curam animarum et nepotes et ceteros amicos carnales promouent*, Comp. Stud. Phil. I.

80:21 *Parisiense palladium*: This decline of learning at the University of Paris began in the thirteenth century. Cocheris (p. 101) cites the prayers offered in the churches *pro statu studii Parisiensis* and Bonaventura's exhortation *præcipue pro studio Parisiensi, quod modo cessat*.

81:5 *incipiat novus auctor haberi* has its source in Cato, *Disticha*, I, 12:

Rumores fuge, ne incipias novus auctor haberi.

81:16 *Parisius præterivit* is loyal enough from an Oxford man.

81:21 *militia . . . languescit*: De Bury seems to have in mind the great victory of the English over the French in the naval battle of Sluys in 1340.

82:11 *canonio* is the reading in BD, but I can find no instance of *canonium* outside of this passage. It is evidently derived from *κανόνιον*, the diminutive of *κάνων*. The other MSS. readings are *canonico* A, *canonis* corrected to *canoni* C, *conamine* in some of

83:12 *oculis lynceis*: Compare *Quod si, ut Aristoteles ait, Lyncei oculis homines uterentur, ut eorum visus obstantia penetraret*, Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.* III, pr. 8, 21. The original of this phrase is not in any of Aristotle's works which have come down to us.

83:16-18 *oberrantibus regratandum censuit . . . secundo Metaphysicæ: secundo Metaphysicæ* is the shorter First Book immediately following the regular First Book in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. The passage is: Οὐ μόνον δὲ χάριν ἔχειν δικαίον τοῖσι τοῖς ὧν ἂν τις κοινωνοῖται ταῖς δόξαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ἐπιπολαιότερος ἀποφνησκέμεναι. καὶ γὰρ οἱτοὶ συνεβάλλοντό τι τὴν γὰρ ἕξιν προήσκησαν ἡμῶν, Lib. I, brev., cap. I.

83:19 *Pandectam*: The *Pandects*, or *Digest* of Roman Law made under Justinian.

83:20 *Tegni*: Galen's medical treatise, the *Τέχνη Ἱατρικὴ*, commonly called *Tegni* in the middle ages.

Canonem: Avicenna's greatest treatise, containing a complete body of medicine.

83:21 *molem illam*: Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* is an enormous compilation in thirty-seven volumes, drawn from Aristotle and the earlier naturalists. Its contents were used for later treatises

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and became the basis of mediæval natural history.

83:22 *Almagesti*: See note 19:8.

84:5-6 *Nemo namque solus: Compare Nunquam in aliqua ætate inventa fuit aliqua scientia sed a principio mundi paulatim crevit sapientia*, Roger Bacon, Comp. Stud. Phil. V.

84:14 *Parthenium Pindarumque*: Parthenius taught Virgil Greek, and one line of his poetry is preserved in the *Georgics* (I, 437). Pindar is out of place here, for Virgil did not imitate him. Horace, of course, as Inglis suggests, ought to be mentioned with Pindar.

84:17 Boethius, Macrobius, Lactantius, and Martianus Capella were fathers of Latin mediæval learning. Their obligations to the *studia et Græcorum volumina* are, on the whole, not exaggerated by De Bury. Boethius is best known by his *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, which is full of Greek reminiscences. He also translated and commented on Aristotle. Macrobius wrote in the fifth century. Of his two chief works, the *Saturnalia* shows indebtedness to Plutarch and his commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* is practically an introduction to the study of Plato. Lactantius, in the early fourth century, shows less marked Greek influence, though he has some acquaintance with Plato and more with Aris-

totle. Martianus Capella's one work is the *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, a long account of the seven liberal arts, and a favourite mediæval encyclopedia of learning. It is full of references to Greek writers.

84:21 sqq. *Hieronymus*: from Augustine; *Hieronymus homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus*, De Civ. Dei. xviii, 44.

The writings of Ambrose were strongly influenced by the Greek fathers, Origen and Basil, and by Philo of Alexandria.

Augustine writes, *Græcas litteras oderam*, Conf. I, 13.

Gregory says, *nos nec Græce novimus nec aliquod opus aliquando Græce conscripsimus*, Epp. XI, 74.

85:17 *theotocos*: The condemnation of Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, by the Council of Ephesus in 431, turned on his refusal to ascribe the title *Θεοτόκος*, or "Mother of God," to the Virgin. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, was his relentless opponent.

86:2 *sizaniarum satores*: Compare Clement of Alexandria, Strom. VI, 8; "Ὡς περ δὲ ἐν τῇ βαβάρῳ φιλοσοφία, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ, "ἐπεσπάρη τὰ ζιζάνια."

86:18 While Clement the Fifth was Pope, the Council of Vienne in 1312 ordained the establishment of chairs of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldee in the leading universities at Papal expense.

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ELEVENTH CHAPTER

88:3 *contrariorum . . . eadem disciplina*: Compare *eadem est scientia oppositorum* in Roger Bacon, Op. Maj. Part V, pars secunda, Dist. I, cap. 1. It comes from Aristotle, where it is not infrequent; 'Ἐστὶ τὰ ἐναντία πάντα τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ μιᾶς ἐπιστήμης θεωρεῖσθαι, Metaph. X, 3, 6.

88:11 *amor hereos* is the MSS. consensus, with no exception, so far as I know, save *herous* in the margin of the Basle MS. and *heros* in the margin of the Cologne MS. *amor hærens*, or *herens* in MS. form, would be in keeping with the sentiment of the passage and has some encouragement from *amore inhæreat* in the fifteenth chapter (104:7). After a long search for parallels elsewhere, I fortunately chanced on *penitus amor hærens* in Quintus Curtius, Hist. Alex. Mag. viii, 3, 6. From the above-mentioned considerations I have been led to favour *hærens*. Mr. Thomas supports *amor δεινός* as a conjectural reading by the aid of a remarkable sentence from a letter of the Emperor Julian: *ἐμοὶ βιβλίων κτήσεως ἐκ παιδαρίου δεινός ἐντέτρηκε πόθος*. The parallel is striking, and if *amor dinos* could be discovered in any Latin version of the letter, would be still more so. But as De Bury does not seem to have really read Greek, and *dinos* is not a Latin word (though *dinosus* is), *δεινός* must still rest a conjecture. A Latin version of the Emperor

Julian's sentence reads, *mihi vero a puerulo mirandum acquirendi et possidendi libros insedit desiderium* (Edwards, Mem. of Lib. I, 30). The sentiment occurs in William of Malmesbury; *Diu est quod et parentum cura et meapte diligentia libris insuevi. Hæc me voluptas jam inde a pueritia cepit*, Gesta Reg. Angl. Prol. in Lib. II.

88:16 *scorpio in theriaca*: from the *De Pomo*, a work erroneously attributed to Aristotle in the middle ages. Thomas cites the remark concerning logic: *Hæc scientia utilis est ut est scorpio in tyriaca; quæ licet sit toxicum tamen si datur patienti dolorem minuit et præstat remedium*, Arist. Opp. Lat. 1496, f. 373.

Isidore defines *theriacum* as *antidotum serpentinum, quo venena pelluntur, ut pestis peste solvatur*, Etym. IV, 9, 8. The sense of the allusion to *theriaca* is that as one poison serves to offset another, so the books of law, like logic, are useful as an antidote, even if they have no other value.

89:8 *synderesis*, as it is written in mediæval Latin, is the Greek *συντήρησις* and found its way into Latin theology through Augustine and Jerome, who defined it as *scintilla conscientiæ*, "the spark of conscience" in every man, Comm. in Ezech. I, 1 vv. 6, 7. Its standard sense is fully developed in Thomas Aquinas in his Summa Theologiæ I, Quæst. LXXIX, 12 and 13. He distinguishes clearly between *conscientia* and *synderesis*, the former be-

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ing a complex resultant of many moral virtues, among which the radical one is *synderesis*, the fundamental moral nature without which there can be no witness of *conscientia*. "By the *synthesis* of my soul" is a favourite "fustian, outlandish phrase" with Emilio, the gallant in Dekker's comedy of Patient Grissil (Act II, 1, and III, 2).

89:17 *Hippodami*: See Aristotle's Politics, II, 5 (8), sec. 14; τὸ ῥαδίως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων νόμων εἰς ἑτέροους νόμους καινοῦς ἀσθενὴ ποιεῖν ἐστὶ τὴν τοῦ νόμου δυνάμιν.

90:5 De Bury coins *geologia*, "the science of earthly things," as the appropriate name for law, in antithesis to the sciences which aid in the understanding of divine things—comprehensively speaking, *theologia*.

TWELFTH CHAPTER

91:4 *diasynthesim*: *diasintasim* is in AB and other MSS., *diasintasacum* in C, and *dyasenteticam* in D. The citation of *diasynthesica* by Roger Bacon as a grammatical term taken from the Greek is perhaps weighty enough to overthrow the *diasynthesim* yielded by most MSS. See his Comp. Stud. Phil. VII.

91:11 *stratas regias*: Virtue is called the *strata regia* to happiness in John of Salisbury, Polyc. VII, 8. The phrase recalls the saying attributed by Proclus to

Euclid; μὴ εἶναι βασιλικὴν ἀτραπὸν πρὸς γεωμετρίαν.

THIRTEENTH CHAPTER

92:4 *nuda veritatis* means philosophy. Roger Bacon calls the speculative sciences *nuda scientia*, Op. Maj., opening of Pars III. Compare in English Sir Thomas Browne's "philosophy, supported by naked reason," Christian Morals, III, 22.

92:11 *omnes . . . desiderant*: See note 16:4.

93:2 *Delectatio namque perficit operationem sicut pulchritudo juventutem* is from Aristotle's Ethics, X, 4, 8; Τελειοὶ δὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἢ ἡδονήν . . . οὖν τοῖς ἀκμαίοις ἢ ὥρα. Thomas Aquinas quotes it in the form *delectatio perficit operationem*, Summa Theol. II, Quæst. XXXIII, Art. 3.

93:14 *Horatius*: Ars Poet. 333 and 343.

93:19 *Elefuga*, also written *Elifuga*, *Ellefuga*, *Eleofuga*, and *Eleufuga*, is a name given in the middle ages to the fifth proposition of Euclid, our *Pons Asinorum*. Anthony Wood in his Annals of Oxford quotes Roger Bacon, Opus Tertium, cap. vi, saying "wherefore the fifth proposition was called *Elefuga*, that is according to our author *Fuga miserorum*." The passage in Roger Bacon is, *Quinta propositio geometricæ Euclidis dicitur Elefuga, id est, fuga miserorum*; "elegia"

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enim Græce dicitur, Latine "misericordia"; et elegi sunt miseri. Alanus in his Anticlaudianus (III, 6) describes Geometria as teaching

Hujus tirones artis cur Eleufuga terret.

The composition of this hybrid word seems to be *ἡλεός* and *fuga*, as was pointed out in the *Athenæum* of Sept. 23, 1871, p. 393. This would make *Eleufuga* mean the "flight of the distressed" or "wretched," and would agree with Chaucer's "flemynge of wriches" (*Troilus and Creseyde*), though Chaucer inaccurately couples this phrase with *Dulcarnon*, which is not the "flemynge of wriches" at all, but the "two-horned" forty-seventh proposition, the *Dulcarnon* of the Arabians, so named from its appearance in the old geometries.

94:2-9 *Filius inconstantie*: Thomas deserves the credit of solving this obstinate puzzle. The source of the story is the third chapter of the *De Disciplina Scholarium*, falsely attributed to Boethius but really written in the thirteenth century. The *filius inconstantie* of the tale shifts from one pursuit to another and at last tries philosophy. He resorts to Crato, whose capacious chair *multis formidabat questionibus*. Unable to reply to these swiftly succeeding questions he at last exclaims in despair, *Miserum me esse hominem! utinam humanitatem exuere possem et asinitatem induere*. Crato is undoubtedly the correct name of the philosopher. It occurs sev-

eral times in the treatise (as *verabilis Crato* in the sixth chapter) and in the commentary of Thomas Aquinas upon it, *Opera Omnia*, Parma 1852-1869, Vol. XXIV, p. 182.

94:12 *inculpandos*: *inculpare* in mediæval Latin has two senses, "to blame" and "to exculpate." *Inculpari* in the sense *non culpari* is cited by Rönisch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 205. Compare also *inculpabiles apud Dominum*, "guiltless before the Lord," Num. xxxii, 22. This paradoxical double usage arises from the great freedom used in compounding negative forms with *in-* in mediæval Latin, Rönisch, p. 475.

94:18 *sicut dicit Cassiodorus*: I have not succeeded in finding the quotation in Cassiodorus, but Thomas quotes it from Jerome's letter to *Læta*, Ep. 7.

95:1 *Apollinaris Sidonius* was a bishop in Gaul in the fifth century. He wrote poetry diffusely, modeling it largely on Claudian and Statius.

96:4 According to Donatus, Virgil was met by some one who asked him what he was doing with a copy of Ennius in his hand. Virgil answered that he was gathering gold out of Ennius's dung, *Vita Vergilii*, xviii.

FOURTEENTH CHAPTER

96:16 *Aristotelem*: from οὐ γὰρ δὲν ἐκπάρτεσθαι τὸν σοφόν, ἀλλ'

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ἐπιτάττειν, καὶ οὐ τοῦτον ἐτέρῃ
πειθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦτω τὸν ἦτον
σοφόν, *Metaph.* I, 2.

96:17 *nec fallit nec fallitur* seems
to have been a common phrase.
It is repeated later, 102:8.

97:4 *Philosophiam . . . conspexit*
Boethius: in the *De Cons. Phil.*
I, pr. 4.

97:9 *hanc sententiam Platonis*
ore: from *Boethius*, *De Cons.*
Phil. I, pr. 4. The passage in
Plato is in the *Republic*, V,
473D.

97:18 *Philippum*: Taken from
the account in *Aulus Gellius*,
Noct. Att. IX, 3, who records
the story and gives Philip's letter
in full. It reads:

Philippus Aristoteli salutem dicit.
Filium mihi genitum scio. Quod
equidem dis habeo gratiam non proinde
quia natus est, quam pro eo quod sum
naeci contigit temporibus vitæ tue.
Spero enim fore, ut eductus eruditus
que a te dignus existat et nobis et rerum
istarum susceptione.

The letter is also in *John of*
Salisbury, *Polyc.* IV, 6.

98:1 *currus auriga paterni* is
Ovid's epithet for *Phæthon*,
Metam. II, 327.

98:7 sqq. The phrase *literarum*
peritia and the reference to *Deu-*
teronomy both come from *John*
of Salisbury, *Polyc.* IV, 6—a
chapter very familiar to *De Bury*.
Compare the sentence beginning
Istud eleganter, 98:21.

FIFTEENTH CHAPTER

99:14 *Livii eloquentia lactea*
comes originally from *Quintil-*
ian's illa Livii lactea ubertas, X, 1,
32, and plainly refers to the agree-
able copiousness and clearness of
Livy's style. Consult *Quintilian*,
X, 1, 101. *Jerome's* Preface to the
Vulgate speaks of *Titum Livium*
lacteo eloquentiæ fonte manantem.

100:9 *periere Cupidinis arcus*
omnes is quoted not unfre-
quently in mediæval writers. It
is from *Ovid*, *Remed. Amoris*,
139.

100:11 *Plato in Phædone*: from
ὁ γλῶς ἐστιν ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀπολύνων δι-
μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώμα-
τος κοινωνίας διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων
ἀνθρώπων, *Phædo*, 64E.

100:14 *inquit Hieronymus*: in
Epp. 125, 11 (but not also *Epp.*
130). It occurs also in *John of*
Salisbury, *Polyc.* VII, 10.

100:20 *Valerius . . . plene refert*:
from *Valerius Maximus*, IV, 3.
Ext. 3.

100:21 *Origenes*: The story is told
as coming from *ecclesiastica his-*
toria in *John of Salisbury*, *Polyc.*
VIII, 6. It is perhaps from
Jerome, *Ad Pammach.* Vol. IV,
11; p. 346 in *Migne*. See also
Origen's Comm. in *Matt.* xix, 12.

101:9 *Non est ejusdem . . .*
probare: quoted from the letter
cited by *De Bury*.

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101:11 *a quodam*: John of Salisbury, Entheticus in Polycratium, two passages near the end.

101:15 *grex, Epicure, tuus*: Compare *Epicurus et totus grex sodalium ejus* in John of Salisbury, Polyc. VII, 15. *Grex Epicuri* as a name for philosophers may have come from Horace's *Epicuri de grege*, Epp. I, 4, 16.

102:1 *a scientia nomen habet*: Compare *Δαιμονες enim dicuntur, quoniam vocabulum Græcum est, ob scientiam nominati*, Augustine, De Civ. Dei, IX, 20 (Thomas).

102:8 *quæ nec fallit nec fallitur veritas*: from *veritas ipsa quæ nec fallit nec fallitur*, in John of Salisbury, Polyc. VIII, 25, p. 819 Migne. See note 96:17.

103:8 *species piscium, quos communis aer nequaquam salubriter continet*: I think this refers to a common element in the ancient definition of fishes as animals which could not live in the common air. See Plato's *Timæus*, last section, and Aristotle's *Problems*, XXVIII, 1, *Καθάπερ ἂν ἰχθὺς ἐν ἀέρι ἢ ἄνθρωπος ἐν ὕδατι διατελῶν φάτως ἂν ἰσχοί*. Scotus Erigena goes into the matter fully:

Pisces vero, de aqua ac pene sola crassa creati, quoniam spirare et respirare, sicut terrena et aerea animalia, non possunt, tactu terræ et aeris citissime pereunt, non tamen spiratione et respiratione omnino privantur. . . . Sed ipsum spiritum non ex isto corpulentiori aere, sed ex illo tenuissimo, omniaque corporea penetrante, accipiunt.

Scotus Erigena. De Div. Naturæ. III, last section.

103:17 *Taurum, Caucasum*: Compare *montes illi magni, qui Caucasus et Taurus et multis aliis nominibus vocantur*, Roger Bacon, Op. Majus, p. 221, Jebb's Ed. Pliny makes them one great mountain range under twenty-two different names, but not including Olympus, Nat. Hist. V, 27.

103:18 *Junonis regna*: See note 34: at end.

104:4 *separatas . . . substantias*: The *substantiæ separatæ* are the angels, as Thomas Aquinas states: *In quibusdam tamen libris de Arabico translatis, substantiæ separatæ, quas nos angelos dicimus, intelligentiæ vocantur*, Summa Theol. I, Quæst. LXXIX, Art. X. And again: *In cognitione substantiarum separatarum, id est angelorum*, Summa II, Quæst. III, Art. VII. He discusses the question most elaborately in Summa I, Quæst. L, Art. III, and elsewhere. Dante also defines the *sustanæ separate* as *le quali la volgare gente chiamano Angeli*, Convito, II, 5.

The Christian doctrine of the *substantiæ separatæ* springs from the writings of Dionysius and the term comes from Arabian philosophy. Roger Bacon cites *substantia separata* as occurring in Alpharabius, Op. Maj. II, 5, and Averroes speaks of *intellectus abstractus* and *intelligentiæ separatæ* interchangeably, Comm. De Anima, III, 36. Venice Ed. 1550, VI, f. 178. Aquinas quotes *substantiæ separatæ* from

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him, Summa I, Quæst. LXXXVIII, Art. I.

104:11 *Seneca docente*: Epp. XI, 3, 3.

104:19 *Tertullianus* refers to *liceat veritati vel occulta via tacitarum litterarum ad aures vestras pervenire*, Apologeticus, c. I.

106:18 *ex contrariorum commixtione compacta*: The elements being simple are indestructible, but mixtures of diverse elements compacted in one body are unstable. So Aristotle: *φαίvera δὲ τὰ μινύμενα πρότερόν τε ἐκ κεχωρισμένων συνίσταται καὶ δυνάμενα χωρίζεσθαι πάλιν*, De Gen. et Corr. I, 9, also I, 10, sec. 10.

107:14 *Cassiodorus*: loc. cit.

109:18 *comprehensor* I cannot find in the dictionaries. It occurs frequently in Thomas Aquinas and is the regular antithesis to *viator*. Compare *cognitio comprehensoris excedit cognitionem viatoris quantumcunque elevetur*, Quæst. Disputatæ, Qu. viii, De Veritate, Art. IV, 7. It is evidently coined from *comprehendo* in its Pauline sense, Phil. III, 12.

110:1 The slightest mark (˘) over the second *o* in *policrotudinem* in AD would yield a perfect *polychronitudinem*, a hybrid word indeed, and the Latin equivalent of *πολυχρονιότης*, just as *polychronia* is of *πολυχρονιον*. Thomas cites it from Petrus Comestor,

where it is used three times, Hist. Scholast. Esther, c. VII (Migne, vol. 198).

110:4 sqq. The passage from *Deus ipse* to *superfluo voluptatis* reflects fully the passage in Josephus, Ant. Jud. I, 3, 9.

110:8 The need of six hundred years for the experimental completion of astronomy was due, according to Josephus, to the fact that the "Great Year" was not accomplished until that time, and then all things started over again as at the beginning. Compare Roger Bacon, Op. Maj. II, cap. viii, sub fin.

110:10 *terræ nascentia*: Compare *omnia terræ nascentia fuerunt creata in maturitate fructuum, quod non accidit per naturam*, Roger Bacon, Op. Maj. p. 120, Jebb's Ed.

110:13 *euexia*: James conjectured *evēfia*, which seems to me the word which lies behind the various confusing readings of the MSS. *enechia* is the form which the best MSS. yield or point to. It occurs in D and several English MSS. (Balliol, CCLXIII; St. John's, Oxford, CLXXII; Trinity, Cambridge, and Sidney Sussex, Cambridge). The other readings are *enethia* in A and the Durham MS., *nenethia* in B with the first *n* blurred, *enchia* C, *enachia* in the Magdalen MS. VI, 164, and *onethia* in the Lincoln MS. LXXXI. Last comes *endelechia* in the German variants—

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a senseless evasion of the difficulty. How to get *energia* out of this with Thomas I cannot see. *euechia* (*εὐχθεια*), if authority could be found for its use in the sense of "health" in ancient medicine, would suit perfectly. But I believe that such use is not to be found. There is much in favor of *euechia*—the only difficulty being in the *ch* in *enechia*. But this could be easily accounted for by the confusion in pronouncing *χ* and *ξ* in the author's dictation of a Greek word to his scribe. *Euechia* primarily means health of body, and naturally completes the phrase *hilarior corporis* (*euechia*), and *σώματος εὐεχία* occurs in Plato, Rep. VIII, 559A, and other writers. See Stephanus, Thesaurus Ling. Græc.

112:1 *Suetonius*: Compare his Julius Cæsar, c. 56; Octavianus, c. 84; Tiberius, c. 70; Claudius, c. 41, 42; Titus, c. 3.

SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER

113:9-14 *Est enim . . . inexpertus*: Compare Roger Bacon's fine description of this plague of mediæval universities—the unscholarlike insolence of the *pueri inexpertus*, Comp. Stud. Phil. cap. V, and John of Salisbury's picture of the *garrula turba puero-rum* in his Entheticus de Dogmate Philosophorum, 41-45: Si sapia auctores, veterum et scripta recenset,
Ut status aliquid forte probare vella,
Undique clamabant: vetus hic quo tendit asellus!

Cur veterum nobis dicta vel acta refert?
A nobis sapimus, docuit se nostra iu-
ventus.

One of the *Carmina Burana*, No. 69, is also in point here:

At nunc decennes pueri
Decussato iugo liberi
Se nunc magistros jactitant,
Cæci cæcos præcipitant.

113:15 *cervicosus* is coined from *dura cervicis* in Exod. xxxii, 9. Compare the comment of Hilary, *cum cervicosum populum esse ad Deum arguit*, in Ps. cxviii, 9. The word is said to occur first in Ambrose.

113:21 *gagati*: The word *gagates* comes from Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXXVI, 1, 9, and Dioscorides, V, 146. The jet of Britain was well known in the middle ages. Isidore speaks of it as *in Britannia plurimus*, Etym. XVI, 4, 3, and Bede, I, 1, says of Britain, *gignit et lapidem gagatem*.

115:3 *chirothecis*: The use of gloves was considered luxurious and effeminate. Compare John of Salisbury, Polyc. III, 13, p. 505 in Migne. The Dominicans and Premonstratensians were forbidden to wear them, Denifle and Eile's Archiv. I, 205 (cited by Thomas).

115:16 *frivolum*: Compare Alcuin's caution to scribes, *Ad musæum*, Migne CI, 745:

Interserere caveant sua frivola verbis,
Frivola nec propter erret ipsa manus.

116:10 *præcedat . . . lotio lectionem*: a necessary admonition to

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men who had no forks and ate with their fingers.

116:20 *librorum lilia*: *Lilia* or *lylia* is the reading in the English MSS. *Librorum folia* does not occur outside the German variants. The "lilies of the books" I take to mean the broad white margins of the leaves, so often soiled in MSS. by dirty thumbing. Several instances of *lilium*, in which the white colour and not the form is referred to, occur in Alanus, *De Planctu Naturæ*, Ed. Migne. They are *frons . . . lacteo liliata colore*, p. 431; *vestis . . . candore lili dealbata*, p. 435; *rosam cum lilio disputantem in facie*, p. 472; *candor dedignatus liliorum supplicare candoribus*, p. 473.

117:3 *characteres clericales*: The tonsure was the true outward mark of priesthood, the *character clericalis*. The satire in De Bury's *scabies et pustulæ* is sharp enough.

EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER

118:18 *factis moraliter dubiis*: Compare Augustine's *sunt quedam facta media, quæ possunt bono vel malo animo fieri de quibus est temerarium judicare*, *De Serm. Domini*, II, cap. 18 ab initio, with De Bury's *perniciosa temeritatis*, in 119:14.

119:1-14 *speciem boni*: The *species actus*, the aspect or bearing of an action, is to be judged,

according to Thomas Aquinas, by the character of its surroundings, *ex circumstantiis* or *ex obiecto*, and by its end, *ex fine*, *Summa Theol.* II, Quæst. XVIII, Art. IV et VII.

In *ex obiecti natura* De Bury takes up the external test, *ex obiecto*, and defends his conduct by the plea that to love books is to love things themselves morally excellent.

finalis intentio: As to the second or internal test, *ex fine* or from the issue of any action, Thomas Aquinas teaches *ex ipsa intentione finis dependet*, *Summa Theol.* Qu. XIX, Art. VII—a man's real intent in his heart can alone disclose the issue of his actions. But this, as De Bury shows, is open only to God, the *cordium inspector*, and it is consequently *perniciosa temeritas* for men to usurp God's prerogative of judging the *voluntatis secretæ finalis intentio*.

119:17-20 *Finis enim . . . Ethicorum*: from Aristotle's *Ethics*, VII, 8, 4; *ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι τὸ οὐ ἐνεκα ἀρχῆς, ὡς περ ἐν τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς αἱ ὑποθέσεις*.

120:1 *honesti finis intentione*: See note 119:1-14.

121:2 *mixtorum complexio*: The constitutional temperament of men, often determined by the influence of the heavenly bodies, is meant by *complexio*. Roger Bacon and Thomas Aquinas treat the question fully. Compare *conjunctiones planetarum*,

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secundum quod caelestia inclinant corda humana ad diversa secundum diversitatem complexionum hominum in Bacon's Comp. Stud. Phil. cap. IV, and the Opus Majus, p. 159, Jebb's edition. Thomas Aquinas is more guarded, admitting the influence of the heavenly bodies *indirecte et per accidens*, Summa I, Quæst. CXV, Art. IV. See also II, Quæst. IX, Art. V. Sir Thomas Browne preserves the thought in "complexionably propense to innovation," Religio Medici, viii.

121:7 *Mercurialis species*: The planet Mercury was favourable to knowledge and letters. Roger Bacon has *lex Mercurialis*, Op. Maj. pp. 162, 164, 166, and *Mercurius est significator scripturæ et scriptorum et profunditas scientiæ in libris profundis*, p. 162, Jebb's edition.

121:9 "Right reason, over which no stars hold sway": Compare for the sentiment, *sed tamen, ut Ptolemæus dicit in Centiloquio, sapiens dominatur astris*, Thomas Aquinas, Summa II, Quæst. IX, Art. IV. Sir Thomas Browne writes beautifully in the same spirit:

"Whatever influences, impulsions, or inclinations there be from the lights above, it were a piece of wisdom to make one of those wise men who overrule their stars, and with their own Militia contend with the Host of Heaven." Christian Morals, III, 7.

NINETEENTH CHAPTER

122:15 *in aula N.*: *N.* is a mediæval abbreviation for *No-*

men, and appears to have supplanted *Ille*, which stood for a blank name in deeds and formulas. A comment on *Ille*, as used in Cyprian's Tenth Epistle, reads, *Olim sic indicabant nomina eorum quæ scribenda erant. Sequens ætas posuit litteram N. omissa veteri formula.* This use of *N.* was very common.

124:9 All the rest of this chapter after *ulterius deferendum* is lacking in the Magdalen MS. In its place the scribe has added the sentence printed in marginal note 4 on page 124 of the Latin text in this edition. James adds this sentence to the full text of the chapter in his edition. It occurs in no other manuscript, so far as I can ascertain.

125:12 *Junii* is the reading of nearly all the MSS. *Julii* in B is corrected in the margin to *Junii*. D has *Julii*. From the Kalends of July up to (*usque ad*) the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas is six days, which Thomas thinks more likely for such an inspection than the five weeks allowed in *Junii*. I see no reason why De Bury did not mean to allow the *computus* to be made at any time within the period he names. If this be so, five weeks would allow no excessive margin of time.

TWENTIETH CHAPTER.

127:9 *Dionysius . . . nos informat*: De Div. Nom. IV, 30; τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς καὶ τῆς ὅλης αἰτίας, τὸ δὲ κακὸν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μερικῶν ἐλ-

Explanatory Notes.

λείψων. It is a commonplace in philosophy. Roger Bacon refers to it as coming from Aristotle's Ethics, Comp. Stud. Phil. cap. VI. Aristotle ascribes it to the Pythagoreans; τὸ γὰρ κακὸν τοῦ ἀπείρου, ὡς οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι εἰκάζον, τὸ δ'ἀγαθὸν τοῦ πεπερασμένου, Ethics II, 6, 14.

129: 10-11 *humanitas juncta Deo* and *divinitas humanata* as antithetical names of Christ recall the theology of the mediæval hymn:

Deus-homo propter nos,
homo-deus ultra nos,
a nobis adoratur.
Mone, Lat. Hymn. I, 40, 10-12.

130: 4 *Cuthbertum*: the patron saint of Durham cathedral.

130: 9 *consessorem in cœlis*: Most of the MSS. have *confessorum*, while *consessorem* occurs only in B and the Bamberg and Escorial MSS. But it is evidently the right reading, for it refers to *consedere in cœlestibus* in Ephes. II, 6, and completes the series of word-plays begun in *successorem* and *confessorem*.

130: 15 Between *conspectum* and *Amen* the German variants and the *editio princeps* insert the phrase *per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*. See marginal note 4 on page 130 of the Latin text.

131 For the colophon see pp. 63 and 94.





Vulgate References in the Text.



It seemed to me best to collect by themselves all indisputable traces of the Vulgate—the most important single literary source of the text of the Philobiblon. The exact amount of text due to this source is given in full in almost every instance. The Vulgate element appears in a moderate number of exact and approximate quotations, a larger number of sentences and clauses made over from texts, as well as in brief phrases and single words of significant meaning.

It was first noticed editorially by James, brought to light much more fully by Cocheris, and further extracted by Thomas. The following notes give many additional instances. The faint traces that remain I believe too slight to reward further search. Some there must be, for the Vulgate element shades insensibly away from clear and full quotation until it disappears. The three hundred and fifty or more scraps here collected come from over fifty different books of the Bible and embrace over thirteen hundred words, or about one-fourteenth of the whole Philobiblon.

The pair of Arabic numbers heading each note refers to the page and line of the Latin text in the first volume. The first number of the pair also refers to the corresponding marginal number in the second volume.

Vulgate References in the Text.

PROLOGUE

- 9:11** *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi?* quoted from Ps. cxv, 12.
- 10:14** *in nostra meditatione ignis illuminans exardescat: from in meditatione mea exardescet ignis,* Ps. xxxviii, 4.
- 10:20** *eleemosynarum remediis redimatur: from peccata tua eleemosynis redime,* Dan. iv, 24.
- 10:22** *bonam hominis et prævenit voluntatem et perficit: from et velle et perficere pro bona voluntate,* Phil. ii, 13.
- 11:1** *sine quo nec sufficientia suppetit* refers to *non quod sufficientes simus cogitare aliquid a nobis, quasi ex nobis; sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est,* II Cor. iii, 5.
- 11:17-19** *ardentes lucernæ non ponuntur sub modio* is from *neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio* in Matth. v, 15, and *præ defectu olei penitus extinguuntur* from *date nobis de oleo vestro, quia lampades nostræ extinguuntur,* Matth. xxv, 8.
- 11:19** *ager . . . ante messem exaruit: Compare (herba) quæ exaruit, antequam maturesceret,* Isai. xxxvii, 27.
- 11:21** *labruscas: Compare expectavit ut faceret uvas et fecit labruscas,* Isai. v, 2.
- 11:21** *in oleastros olivæ: Compare excisus es oleastro et contra naturam insertus es in bonam olivam,* Rom. xi, 24.
- 12:1** *columnas ecclesiæ: Compare faciam illum columnam in templo Dei,* Apoc. iii, 12.
- 12:11** *In pariendo filios abortiri compellitur* the reference may be to *tanquam abortivo visus est et mihi* in St. Paul's statement as to his conversion, I Cor. xv, 8.
- 12:16** *tela succiditur: from a texente tela succiditur,* Job vii, 6.
- 12:22** *misericiordiæ viscera: In two places viscera misericordiæ occurs in the Vulgate, Colos. iii, 12, and Luc. i, 78.*
- 13:13** *colla iugo . . . subiecisse: from collum vestrum subjicite iugo,* Eccli. li, 34.
- 13:22** *hunc effectum acceptissimum coram Deo: Compare hoc enim est acceptum coram Deo,* I Tim. v, 3.
- 14:6-8** *ora perversa loquentium . . . obstruamus: from obstrutum est os loquentium iniqua,* Ps. lxxii, 12.

FIRST CHAPTER

16:3 *Thesaurus desiderabilis: from Prov. xxi, 20.*

16:6-12 This entire passage is drawn from Scripture texts. From *cunctas* to *arena* is taken

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- from *diuitias nihil esse duxi in comparatione illius; nec comparavi illi lapidem pretiosum, quoniam omne aurum in comparatione illius arena est exigua et tanquam lutum aestimabitur argentum in conspectu illius*, Sap. vii, 8, 9; the next phrase is from *tenebrescunt sol et lumen et luna*, Eccle. xii, 2; and the closing sentence suggests *non habet amaritudinem conversatio illius*, Sap. viii, 16.
- 17:1 *non marcescens*: from *quæ nunquam marcescit sapientia*, Sap. vi, 13.
- 17:4 *descendens a Patre luminum*: quoted from Jacob. i, 17.
- 17:5-12 The three sentences beginning at *Tu es intellectus* are a good example of text-patching. They are composed in the main of *Qui edunt me, adhuc esurient; et qui bibunt me adhuc sitient. Qui audit me non confundetur; et qui operantur in me non peccabunt*, Eccli. xxiv, 29-30, with a touch from *anima languente*, Sap. xvii, 8, and *Per te reges regnant et legum conditores iusta decernunt* quoted almost exactly from Prov. viii, 15.
- 17:16 See Explanatory Notes.
- 17:17 *pascere . . . sues*: See Luc. xv, 15.
- 17:20 *posuisti tabernaculum tuum*: from *in sole posuit tabernaculum suum*, Ps. xviii, 6.
- 17:22 sq. *omnis qui petit*: from *omnis enim, qui petit, accipit; et qui querit, invenit; et pulsanti aperietur*, Matth. vii, 8, with a reminiscence in *improbe* of *propter improbitatem tamen ejus surget*, Luc. xi, 8.
- 18:2 *Cherubim alas suas extendunt*: from *extendebant autem alas suas Cherubim*, III Reg. vi, 27.
- 18:4 *a solis ortu et occasu, ab aquilone et mari* is Ps. cvi, 3.
- 18:5 *incomprehensibilis ipse Deus*: Compare (*Dominus*) *incomprehensibilis cogitatu*, Jerem. xxxii, 19.
- 18:7 *caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum*: as in Phil. ii, 10.
- 19:10 *scriba doctus and profert nova et vetera*: extracted from Matth. xiii, 52.
- 19:12 sq. *Veritas vincens super omnia* refers to the contest recorded in the Third Book of Esdras:
Unus scripsit; Forte est vinum;
alius scripsit; Fortior est rex;
tertius scripsit; Fortiores sunt mulieres; super
omnia autem vincit veritas.
III Esdræ, iii, 10-12.
- 19:19 *virtus vocis*: Compare *si ergo nesciero virtutem vocis*, I Cor. xiv, 11.
- 19:20 From *sapientia absconsa et thesaurus invisus; quæ utilitas in utrisque?* Eccli. xx, 32.
- 21:6 *Scriptura nobis divinitus inspirata*: from *omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata*, II Tim. iii, 16.

Vulgate References in the Text.

- 21:8 *thesauros effodiat*: from *sicut thesauros effodieris illam*, Prov. ii, 4.
- 21:9-12 *putei aquarum viventium*: See Gen. xxvi, 15-19.
- 21:13-15 *spicæ and manibus confricandæ*: from Luc. vi, 1.
- 21:16 *urnæ aureæ*: Compare *urna aurea habens manna*, Hebr. ix, 4.
- 21:17 *petræ mellifluæ*: Compare *mel de petra*, Deut. xxxii, 13, and *de petra melle saturavit eos*, Ps. lxxx, 17.
- 21:18 *promptuaria semper plena*: from *promptuaria eorum plena*, Ps. cxliii, 13.
- 21:19-21 *lignum vitæ et quadripartitus fluvius paradisi*: derived from Gen. ii, 9, 10.
- 21:22 *canalesque quibus fœtus intuentium colorantur*: See Gen. xxx, 37-38.
- 22:1 *lapides testimonii*: Josue iv, 7.
- 22:2 *lagenæ servantes lampades*: from *lampades in medio lagenarum*, Judic. vii, 16.
- 22:2 *pera David, de qua limpidissimi lapides*: from *limpidissimos lapides de torrente . . . misit eos in peram*, I Reg. xvii, 40.
- 22:4 *aurea vasa templi* refers to the various *vasa ex auro puro* in Exod. xxxvii, 16, 23, 24.
- 22:5 *arma militiæ*: from *arma militiæ nostræ non carnalia sunt*, II Cor. x, 4.
- 22:5 *tela nequissimi*: from *omnia tela nequissimi ignea*, Ephes. vi, 16.
- 22:6 *olivæ fecundæ*: Compare *olivam uberem, pulchram, fructiferam, speciosam vocavit Dominus nomen tuum*, Jerem. xi, 16.
- 22:6 *vineæ Engadi*: Compare Cant. i, 13.
- 22:7 *figus sterilesce nescientes*: the moral of the barren fig-tree in Matth. xxi, 19, used "*e contrario*," as is not unusual in the Philobiblon.
- 22:7 *lucernæ ardentes*: from Luc. xii, 35.

SECOND CHAPTER

- 23:9 *ordinat charitatem*: Compare *ordinavit in me charitatem*, Cant. ii, 4.
- 24:5 *sapientissimus* is Solomon, *David filium sapientissimum*, III Reg. v, 7, and *hoc testetur* accordingly refers to *amico fideli nulla est comparatio et non est digna ponderatio auri contra bonitatem fidei illius*, Eccli. vi, 15.
- 24:7 See Explanatory Notes.
- 25:6 *scriptum esse præmittens*: in Matth. iv, 4, 6, 7, 10.
- 26:15 *porcos spernere margaritas*: Matt. vii, 6.

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26:17 *Pretiosior est igitur aq. is from pretiosior est cunctis opibus, et omnia, quæ desiderantur, huic non valent comparari, Prov. iii, 15.* *Esau valde bonis, quas apud se habebat domi, induit eum, Gen. xxvii, 15.*

THIRD CHAPTER

27:12 *infinite thesaurus: from infinite thesaurus est hominibus (sapientia), Sap. vii, 14.* 31:8 *domestici sunt vestiti duplicibus: from Prov. xxxi, 21.*

27:16 *sol hominum, Salomon: Compare the saying homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol, Eccli. xxvii, 12.* 31:9 *nuditas: Compare si tamen vestiti, non nudi inveniamur, II Cor. v, 3.*

28:1 *Veritatem, inquit, eme, et noli vendere sapientiam is part of Prov. xxiii, 23.* 31:10 *alati more seraphico: See Isai. vi, 2.*

FOURTH CHAPTER

30:3 *Progenies viperarum: from Matth. xii, 34.* 31:12 *See Explanatory Notes.*

30:8 *Redit, prævaricatores ad cor: from Isai. xli, 8.* 31:20 *Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta is from I Petr. ii, 9.*

30:14-15 *ut parvuli loquebamini, ut parvuli sapiebatis: from loquebar ut parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus, I Cor. xiii, 11.* 31:21 *populus peculiaris: Compare Deut. vii, 6.*

30:15 *participes . . . lactis: from qui lactis est particeps, Hebr. v, 13.* 31:22 *vos sacerdotes et ministri Dei is from vos autem sacerdotes Domini vocabimini; ministri Dei nostri, dicetur vobis, Isai. lxi, 6.*

31:3 *magnalia Dei fari: Compare loquentes magnalia Dei, Act. ii, 11.* 32:2 *ecclesia Dei dicimini is evidently meant to be a Scripture reference, but I have been unable to identify it. Thomas Aquinas says that only a priest potest gerere actus totius Ecclesie, Sent. IV, Dist. xxiv, Quæst. II, Art. II.*

31:4-6 *vestibus valde bonis, rhetorica et dialectica, quas apud nos habuimus et habemus, vos induimus is adapted from vestibus* 32:4 *altari deservientes, cum altario participantes is from I Cor. ix, 13.*

Vulgate References in the Text.

- 32:7** *paulo magis angelis*: altered from *paulo minus angelis*, Hebr. ii, 7.
- 32:8-10** *Cui enim aliquando angelorum dixit* is the opening phrase of Hebr. i. 5, and *Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech* is part of Hebr. vii, 17.
- 32:11-12** This is almost exactly *Hic jam quæritur inter dispensatores ut fidelis quis inventatur*, I Cor. iv, 2.
- 32:13-15** *pastores gregis . . . rependere lac et lanam*: See *quis pascit gregem et de lacte gregis non manducat?* I Cor ix, 7.
- 32:21** *vocati ab hominibus rabbi*: from Matth. xxiii, 7.
- 33:1** *magna mundi luminaria*: Compare *lucetis sicut luminaria in mundo*, Phil. ii, 15, and *luminaria magna*, Gen. i, 16.
- 33:5-7** *Nolite tangere christos meos, et in prophetis meis nolite malignari*: quoted from Ps. civ, 15.
- 33:11-13** *retrosum abeuntes*: Compare *retrosum abiisti*, Jerem. xv, 6. *socii . . . furum*: from *socii furum*, Isai. i, 23. *proficientes in pejus*: Compare *proficient in pejus*, II Tim. iii, 13.
- 33:17** *morte turpissima*: from Sap. ii, 20.
- 33:18** *elongatur amicus et proximus*: from *elongasti a me amicum et proximum*, Ps. lxxxvii, 19.
- 33:19** *nec est qui doleat vicem vestram*: from *non est qui vicem meam doleat*, I Reg. xxiii, 8.
- 33:19** *Petrus jurat se hominem non novisse*: from Matth. xxvi, 72.
- 33:21-22** *Crucifige, crucifige eum* is from Joan. xix, 6, and *et hunc dimittis, Cæsaris amicus non eris* is from Joan. xix, 12.
- 34:1** *ante tribunal oportet assisti*: from *manifestari oportet ante tribunal*, II Cor. v, 10.
- 34:3** *tristitia complevit cor*: from Joan. xvi, 6.
- 34:5** *fit vallatus angustis*: from *angustia vallabit eum*, Job xv, 24.
- 34:9** *miserericordia moti statim occurrimus filio prodigo*: from *miserericordia motus est et accurrens cecidit super collum ejus*, Luc. xv, 20.
- 34:10** *portis mortis*: See Ps. ix, 15, Ps. cvi, 18, Sap. xvi, 13.
- 34:20** *holocaustum . . . medullatum*: Compare *holocausta medullata* in Ps. lxxv, 15.
- 35:10** *volumen cum Ezechiele comedere*: See Ezech. iii, 1-3.
- 36:17** *improperium patimur extra portas*: See Heb. xiii, 12-13.
- 36:21** *super aspidem et basiliscum*: from Ps. xc, 13.
- 37:8** *coccum bis tinctum* occurs in Exod. xxvi, 1, and frequently in the Old Testament.

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- 37:18-20 *Adhæsit pavimento anima nostra*: made from Ps. cxviii, 25. *conglutinator est in terra venter noster* is Ps. xliii, 25. *gloria nostra in pulverem est deducta*: made from Ps. vii, 6. Three texts strung together to make one sentence.
- 37:22 *paralysi dissoluti*: Compare *dissolutus est paralysi*, I Mac. ix, 55. *nec est qui recogitet*: Compare *non est qui recogitet*, Isai. lvii, 1, and *nullus est qui recogitet*, Jerem. xii, 11.
- 38:1 *malagma*: Compare *neque malagma sanavit eos*, Sap. xvi, 12.
- 38:13 *quatruiduano jam putrido*: Compare *jam fetet, quatruiduanus est enim*, Joan. xi, 39. *clamans dicat, Lazare, veni foras*: from *voce magna clamavit; Lazare, veni foras*, Joan. xi, 43.
- 38:14 *Nullo circumligantur medicamine*: from *non est circumligata nec curata medicamine*, Isai. i, 6. *super nostra ulcera cataplasmet* is evidently derived from *jussit Isaias ut . . . cataplasma rent super vulnus*, Isai. xxxviii, 21, and suggests that *vulnera* should be substituted for *ulcera*. But the MSS. are clearly against it and we are not to assume invariably exact adherence to literal quotation, especially here where the scripture text is not quoted but made over into something new.
- 38:18 *Job in sterquilinio*: from (*Job*) *sedens in sterquilinio*, Job ii, 8.
- 39:5 *in servos vendimur et ancillas*: from *venderis inimicis tuis in servos et ancillas*, Deut. xxviii, 68.
- 40:19 *fimbrias . . . magnificat*: from Matth. xxiii, 5.
- 42:1-3 *commutatur naturalis usus in eum usum qui est contra naturam*: from Rom. i, 26.
- 42:8 *amarius omni morte*: Compare *amariorem morte*, Eccl. vii, 27.
- 42:9-10 *hi vendiderunt populum nostrum sine pretio*: from Ps. xliii, 13. *inimici nostri iudices nostri sunt*: from Deut. xxxii, 31.

FIFTH CHAPTER

- 43:5 *sicut in omnibus divitiis delectari*: from *delectatus sum sicut in omnibus divitiis*, Ps. cxviii, 14.
- 43:12 *illa sacra gazophylacia*: Compare *hæc sunt gazophylacia sancta*, Ezech. xlii, 13, also i-13, where *gazophylacium* occurs thirteen times. *ad dandam scientiam salutis*: from Luc. i, 77.
- 43:13 *lumen delectabile semitis*: from *dulce lumen et delectabile est oculis videre solem*, Eccl. xi, 7, and *lumen semitis meis*, Ps. cxviii, 105.
- 43:15 *devota sollicitudo*: Compare *Martha, Martha, sollicita es*, Luc. x, 41.

Vulgate References in the Text.

- 43:17 *Racheli formosæ Lia fecunda non invidet*: changed from *cernens autem Rachel quod infecunda esset, invidit sorori*, Gen. xxx, 1; *Lia non invidet Racheli* for *Rachel invidit sorori*.
 44:8 *luminosas lucernas*: Compare *facies et lucernas septem . . . ut luceant*, Exod. xxv, 37.
 44:9 *famem audiendi verbum Dei*: from *non famem panis, neque sitim aquæ, sed audiendi verbum Domini*, Amos viii, 11.
 44:10 *subcinericios neque hordeaceos*: from *quasi subcinericiū hordaceum comedes illud*, Ezech. iv, 12.
 44:11 *panes azymos de purissima simila*: Compare *panesque azymos . . . de simila tritacea*, Exod. xxix, 2.
 44:18 *parvulas caperemus vulpulas*: from *capite nobis vulpes parvulas quæ demoliuntur vineas*, Cant. ii, 15.
 46:10 *sapere quæ sunt sæculi*: Compare *qui terrena sapiunt*, Phil. iii, 19.
 46:21 *vacillabit*: There are two instances of this verb in the Vulgate, *vacillantes*, Job iv, 4, and *vacillate*, Isai. xxix, 9.
 46:22 *ut testa virtus devotionis arescet*: from *aruit tanquam testa virtus mea*, Ps. xxi, 16.
 47:1 *nullum lumen poteritis mundo præbere*: from *ignis quidem nulla vis poterat illis lumen præbere*, Sap. xvii, 5.
 SIXTH CHAPTER
 47:5-10 A literary mosaic, pieced together out of the New Testament. *Pauperes spiritu*, Matth. v, 3, and *fide ditissimi* from *divites in fide*, Jacob. ii, 5. *mundi peripsema*, I Cor. iv, 13, and *sal terræ*, Matth. v, 13. *hominum piscatores*: Matth. iv, 19. *penuriam patientes*: from *penuriam pati*, Phil. iv, 12. *animas vestras scitis in patientia possidere*: from Luc. xxi, 19.
 48:1 *in omnem terram exeat sonus*: from Ps. xviii, 5.
 48:2 *coram gentibus et regibus*: from Act. ix, 15.
 48:7 *zelotypi* occurs twice in the Vulgate, Eccli. xxvi, 8 and 9.
 48:8-12 Another sentence pieced out of Scripture. *Seminare jubemini super omnes aquas*: from *beati qui seminatis super omnes aquas*, Isai. xxxii, 20. *non est personarum acceptor*: from Act. x, 34. *nec vult mortem peccatorum*: from *nolo mortem impij*, Ezech. xxxiii, 11. *contritis corde mederi*: from *ut mederer contritis corde*, Isai. lxi, 1. *lapsos erigi*: perhaps from *Dominus erigit elisos*, Ps. cxlv, 8. *perversos corrigi*: from *perversi difficile corriguntur*, Eccl. i, 15. *spiritu lenitatis*: from *in spiritu lenitatis*, Gal. vi, 1.
 48:14 *plantavit gratuito plantatosque rigavit*: from *ego plantavi*,

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- Apollo rigavit*, I Cor. iii, 6. There are two instances of *gratuito*; Dan. xi, 39, and Malac. i, 10.
- 48:17 *salutem fidelium animarum*: Compare *salutem animarum*, I Petr. i, 9.
- 49:7 *cura superflua*: Compare Eccl. ii, 26.
- 49:9-11 *Psalmista . . . promittit*: in Ps. xxxix, 18, *ego autem mendicus sum et pauper; Dominus sollicitus est mihi*.
- 49:12 *epulae splendidae* occurs in Eccl. xxix, 29.
- 49:17 *potentes et nobiles*: Compare *non multi potentes, non multi nobiles*, I Cor. i, 26.
- 49:22 *refocillativum animarum edulium*: Compare *ad refocillandam animam*, Thren. i, 11.
- 50:1 *pruritus . . . aurium*: Compare *magistros prurientes auribus*, II Tim. iv, 3.
- 50:4 *fimbriae . . . tetigerunt*: Compare *ut vel fimbriam vestimenti ejus tangerent*, Matth. xiv, 36.
- 50:11 *ostium aperire*: Compare *ecce dedi coram te ostium apertum*, Apoc. iii, 8.
- 50:18 *nocte dieque in lege Domini meditantes*: from Ps. i, 2.
- 51:8 *minorem sollicitudinem*: See note 49:9-11 above.
- 51:10 *spem habentes* occurs in II Cor. iii, 12, and x, 15.
- 51:10 *corvum non consideratis nec lilia*: from Luc. xii, 24 and 27.
- 51:13 See Explanatory Notes.
- 51:14-18 *Etiam . . . in torrente per corvos*: from III Reg. xvii, 4-6. *in deserto per angelum*: III Reg. xix, 4-8. *in Sarepta per viduam*: from III Reg. xvii, 9. *quae dat escam omni carni* is from Ps. cxxxv, 25, mingled with *tempore opportuno* from *tu das escam illorum in tempore opportuno*, Ps. cxliv, 15.
- 51:20 *prudenciae propriae producit innisum*: from *ne innitaris prudentiae tuae*, Prov. iii, 5. *Innisus*, the participle of *innitor*, is used as an adjective (see Forcellini, s. v. *innizus*), but I find no other instance of its use as a noun.
- 52:5 *Uncinis pomorum*: from *uncinus pomorum*, Amos viii, 1-2.
- 52:22 *contra legem in bove arabis et asino*: See *non arabis in bove simul et asino*, Deut. xxii, 10. Alanus explains the text as follows: *id est non mittes sapientem ad praedicandum cum fatuo*, Dist. Theol. s. v. *Asinus*.
- 53:2 *boves arabant et asinae pascebantur juxta eos* is in Job i, 14.
- 53:6 See Explanatory Notes.

Vulgate References in the Text.

- 53:7** *eunuchis sapientiæ* refers to those who had made themselves *eunuchi propter regnum cælorum*, Matth. xix, 12, in whose case, of course, *nuptias procurare* would be forbidden.
- 53:8** *cæcos speculatores*: from Isai. lvi, 10.
- 53:12** *aliorum labores intratis* reflects *alii laboraverunt et vos in labores eorum introistis*, Joan. iv, 38.
- 53:19** *Resipiscite* occurs once in the Vulgate, *resipiscant a diaboli laqueis*, II Tim. ii, 26.
- 53:21** *in præparationem evangelii pacis . . . calciari*: from *calceati pedes in præparatione evangelii pacis*, Ephes. vi, 15.
- 54:8** *maxime, inquit, membranas*: II Tim. iv, 13.
- 54:11** *Aerem vocibus verberat*: from *non quasi aerem verberans*, I Cor. ix, 26.
- 54:13** *Atramentarium scriptoris . . . in renibus*: from Ezech. ix, 2.
- 54:14** See Explanatory Notes.
- 55:5-6** *hora undecima . . . paterfamilias . . . vineam . . . otiari*: from Matth. xx, 1-6.
- 55:7** *prudenti villico*, Luc. xvi, 8, and *mendicandi . . . verecundiam* from *mendicare erubescio*, Luc. xvi, 3.
- SEVENTH CHAPTER
- 55:13** *dissipa gentes bella volentes*: from *dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt*, Ps. lxxvii, 31.
- 56:17** *potestas . . . tenebrarum*: Compare Luc. xxii, 53, and Colos. i, 13.
- 57:8** *gemitus . . . columbinos*: Compare *quasi columbæ gemitus*, Isai. lix, 11, and *gementes ut columbæ*, Nahum ii, 7.
- 58:9** *in quorum ore non est inventum mendacium*: from Apoc. xiv, 5.
- 58:13** *filia virgo* occurs ten times in the Vulgate. It is a common pleonasm like *puella virgo* and *femina virgo*, also occurring in the Vulgate.
- 58:19** *non ab homine neque per hominem didicit*: from Gal. i, 1 and 12.
- 58:22** *immundorum . . . spirituum*: Compare Matth. x, 1.
- 59:1** *Enoch Paradisi præfectus*: Compare *Enoch translatus est in Paradisum*, Eccli. xlv, 16.
- 59:3** *prophetavit*: Compare *prophetavit de his autem septimus ab Adam Enoch*, Judæ 14.
- 59:15** *a cedro Libani usque ad hyssopum planissime disputata*: from III Reg. iv, 33.
- 60:20** *sicut oves pastore percusso sunt dispersi*: from *percutis pas-*

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- torem et dispergentur oves*, Zach. xiii, 7.
- 60:22 *portas mortis adiret*: Compare Ps. cvi, 18.
- 61:12 *tabulata cedrina*: from III Reg. vi, 15-16.
- 61:12 *lignis . . . levigatis*: from Gen. vi, 14.
- 64:18 *aromatum apothecas*: taken separately from Isai. xxxix, 2.
- 65:14 *inorassatis*: Compare Deut. xxxii, 15.
- 65:21 *circumferentes*: Compare II Cor. iv, 10.
- 65:21 *aquas plurimas nequiverunt extinguere charitatem*: from Cant. viii, 7.
- 66:8 *impetus fluminis voluptatis lætificavit*: Compare *fluminis impetus lætificavit*, Ps. xlv, 5.
- 66:10 *semper dies pauci præ amoris magnitudine videbantur*: from Gen. xxix, 20.
- 66:12 *cellas aromatum*: Compare Isai. xxxix, 2.
- 67:4 *thesauris apertis*: Compare Matth. ii, 11.
- 67:8 *malum est . . . emptor*: Compare Prov. xx, 14.
- 67:9 *ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum and congregare in unum*: from Ps. cxxxii, 1.
- 68:10 *prospiciente de cælo*: Compare *de cælo despectit*, Ps. xiii, 2.
- 69:5 *facti sumus refugium*: from *factus est Dominus refugium*, Ps. ix, 10.
- 69:9 *mare et aridam*: Compare *convertit mare in aridam*, Ps. lxxv, 6.
- 62:8 *omni negotio tempus sit et opportunitas*: quoted from Eccl. viii, 6.
- 63:22 *tam majoribus quam pusillis*: Compare *pusillis cum majoribus*, Ps. cxlii, 13.
- 64:1 *loco exenniorum . . . donorum*: Compare *xenia et dona ex-cæcant oculos judicum*, Eccl. xx, 31. The Bishop as Lord Chancellor and Treasurer, "in place of" these gifts, wrong for a *judez*, takes books!
- 64:10 *corrupti et abominabiles jam effecti*: from Ps. xlii, 1, or Ps. liii, 2.
- 64:13 *purpura vestiebantur et bysso*: Compare Luc. xvi, 19. For *vestiebantur* compare *vestites bysso*, Ezech. xvi, 13.
- 64:14 *in cinere et cilicio*: Compare Matth. xi, 21.
- 64:14 *oblivioni traditi*: Compare *oblivioni traditus sum*, Ps. xxx, 13.

Vulgate References in the Text.

- 69:16 *retia . . . sagenas*: Compare Ezech. xii, 13. *fabrefleri poterit in argento et auro et gemmis*: from Exod. xxxi, 4, 5.
- 70:8 *seminiverbio*: taken from *quid vult seminiverbius hic dicere?* Act. xvii, 18. 71:8 *polymitaris*: Exod. xxxv, 35. *superhumerales ac rationales*: Exod. xxviii, 4.
- 70:15 *altissima paupertate*: Compare II Cor. viii, 2. 71:10 *cortinas, saga, pellesque arietum rubricatas*: from Exod. xxvi, 1, 7, 14.
- 70:18 *micas de mensa dominorum cadentes*: from Matth. xv, 27. 71:12-15 *agricolæ seminantes*: Compare Matth. xiii, 3. *boves triturantes*: Compare I Cor. ix, 9. *tubæ buccinantes* suggests the *septem buccinæ* blown by the priests at the fall of Jericho, Josue vi, 4-9. *Pleiades emicantes*: from *micantes stellas Pleiadas*, Job xxxviii, 31. *stellæ manentes in ordine suo, quæ Sisaram expugnare non cessant*: from Judic. v, 20.
- 70:20-22 *panemque angelorum*: Compare Ps. lxxvii, 25. *omne in se delectamentum habentem*: from Sap. xvi, 20. The *panis angelorum* of philosophy was knowledge, Dante, Convito I, 1, and of sacramental theology was the body of Christ, Augustine, Sermo 225, 3. *horrea Joseph*: Compare Gen. xli, 56. *totamque Ægypti suppellectilem*: Compare *nec dimittatis quidquam de suppellectili vestra, quia omnes opes Ægypti vestræ erunt*, Gen. xlv, 20. 71:17 *hora undecima vineam sint ingressi*: from Matth. xx, 6, 7.
- 71:1 *quæ regina Saba detulit Salomoni*: from *quæ dedit regina Saba regi Salomoni*, III Reg. x, 10. 71:22 *vocatione novissimus*: Compare *novissime autem omnium tanquam abortivo visus est mihi*, I Cor. xv, 8.
- 71:3 *formicæ . . . congregantes in messem*: from Prov. vi, 6, 8. 73:6-8 *spes eorum in sinu nostro reposita*: from *reposita est hæc spes mea in sinu meo*, Job xix, 27. *apud nos copiosa redemptio*: from *copiosa apud eum redemptio*, Ps. cxxix, 7. *cum usuris*: Compare Luc. xix, 23.
- 71:5 *Beseleel*: Exod. xxxi, 2. 73:22 *sospitati* occurs once in the Vulgate, Job v, 11.
- 71:6 *ad excogitandum quicquid*

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NINTH CHAPTER

- 76:16 *implicati negotiis*: from *implicat se negotiis*, II Tim. ii, 4.
- 79:16 *propter hæc et his similia*: from *propter hæc et per his similia*, Sap. xvi, 1.
- 80:7 *tenebrosis aquis in nubibus aeris*: from Ps. xvii, 12.
- 80:16 *ædificantes Syon in sanguinibus*: from Mich. iii, 10.
- 81:11 *a fine usque ad finem attingit fortiter*: from Sap. viii, 1.
- 81:18 *Græcis et Barbaris debitorum*: from Rom. i, 14.
- 86:3 *profecerunt in pejus*: Compare II Tim. iii, 13, and note 33:11.
- 86:4 *inconsutilem tunicam*: Joan. xix, 23.
- 86:8 *cujus sapientiam numerus non metitur*: from Ps. cxlvi, 5.

ELEVENTH CHAPTER

- 87:9 and 13 *hujus sæculi filiis* and *filiis lucis*: from Luc. xvi, 8.
- 87:14 *amicitiam hujus mundi, per quam homo, Jacobo attestante, Dei constituitur inimicus*: from Jacob. iv, 4.
- 89:4 *corpus scientia lucidum fiet totum, non habens aliquam partem tenebrarum*: from Luc. xi, 36.

TENTH CHAPTER

- 82:6 *Sapientiam, inquit, antiquorum omnium exquiret sapiens*: quoted from Eccl. xxxix, 1.
- 89:6 *ad . . . convivendum*: Compare Sap. viii, 9.

TWELFTH CHAPTER

- 82: last line. *electum, probatum terræ purgatum septuplum*: from Ps. xi, 7.
- 91:8 *iter planum*: from *planum facite iter*, Isai. lxii, 10.

THIRTEENTH CHAPTER

- 83:5 *paulo minus ab angelis minoravit*: Compare Hebr. ii, 7, 9.
- 83:7 *quæ totus vix capit orbis*: Compare Joan. xxi, 25.
- 84:13 *in eorum vitula non arasset*: from Judic. xiv, 18.
- 84:21 and 85:3 *in scripturæ gazophylacium and contulissent* suggest Luc. xxi, 1.
- 94:1 *Durus . . . est hic sermo; quis potest eum audire*: from Joan. vi, 61.
- 94:6 *questionibus infinitis*: from *se infinitis miscuerit questionibus*, Eccl. vii, 30.
- 95:13 *errores gentium*: Compare *gentium harum . . . erroribus*, Josue xxiii, 12.

Vulgate References in the Text.

FOURTEENTH CHAPTER

98:9-12 From *librum legis* *divinæ* to the end of the sentence is drawn from *describet sibi Deuteronomium legis hujus, in volumine accipiens exemplar a sacerdotibus Leviticæ tribus, et habebit secum, legetque illud omnibus diebus vitæ suæ*, Deut. xvii, 18, 19.

98:15 *qui et fingit quotidie corda hominum sigillatim*: from *qui finxit sigillatim corda eorum*, Ps. xxxii, 15.

FIFTEENTH CHAPTER

99:12 *si linguis angelorum et hominum quis loquatur*: from I Cor. xiii, 1.

99:17 *puerum nescientem fatebitur adhuc loqui*: from *ecce nescio loqui, quia puer ego sum*, Jerem. i, 6.

99:18 *resonantem in montibus altis echo*: from *resonans de altissimis montibus echo*, Sap. xvii, 18.

100:4 *omnium bonorum mater esse*: from *horum omnium mater est (sapientia)*, Sap. vii, 12.

101:18 *Nullus ergo potest libris et Mammoni deservire*: Compare Matth. vi, 24.

102:4 *se transfigurans in angelum lucis*: from II Cor. xi, 14.

102:11 *nunc creator nunc creatura*: Compare Sap. xiii, 5, and Rom. i, 25.

102:12 *jucunditatis hauritur*: Compare *hauriet jucunditatem a Domino*, Prov. xviii, 22.

102:14 *ut per patientiam et consolationem scripturarum spem habeamus*: quoted from Rom. xv, 4.

102:16 *Charitas non inflatur sed ædificatur*: from *charitas non inflatur*, I Cor. xiii, 4, and *scientia inflat, charitas vero ædificat*, I Cor. viii, 1.

103:5 *ea quæ non sunt, sicut ea quæ sunt*: from Rom. iv, 17.

103:21 *varietate maxima decoratum*: Compare *mira varietate pictura decorabat*, Esth. i, 6.

103:22 *nec oculus vidit nec auris audiuit*: from I Cor. ii, 9.

105:11 *gasas*: Compare Act. viii, 27.

SIXTEENTH CHAPTER

106:16 *Faciendi plures libros nullus est finis*: quoted from Eccl. xii, 12.

107:4 *semen fratri mortuo suscitetur*: Compare *suscitabit semen fratris sui*, Deut. xxv, 5.

107:6 *Mortuus est pater sqq.*: quoted from Eccl. xxx, 4.

107:22 *inclinans se deorsum digito scribebat in terra*: taken from Joan. viii, 6.

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- 108:2 *sapientiam Dei*: from *Christum . . . Dei sapientiam*, I Cor. i, 24.
- 108:5 *in cuius tremendo nomine flectitur omne genu*: Compare Rom. xiv, 11, and Phil. ii, 10.
- 108:20 *Scribit justos in libro viventium Deus ipse*: from *deleantur de libro viventium et cum justis non scribantur*, Ps. lxviii, 29, with perhaps a touch from *de libro tuo quem scripsisti*, Exod. xxxiii, 32.
- 108:21 *lapideas tabulas digito Dei scriptas*: from *duas tabulas testimonii lapideas, scriptas digito Dei*, Exod. xxxi, 18.
- 108:22 *Scribat librum ipse qui iudicat*: quoted from Job xxxi, 35.
- 109:1-2 *digitos scribentis in pariete*: from Dan. v, 5. *Mane, Thecel, Phares*: from Dan. v, 25. *Nabuchodonosor* is an error of the author, for *Baltassar*, or *Belshazzar*, is, of course, the trembling king of the fifth chapter of Daniel.
- 109:3 *Ego . . . scribebam in volumine atramento*: quoted from Jerem. xxxvi, 18.
- 109:5 *Quod vides scribe in libro*: quoted from Apoc. i, 11.
- 109:7 *Sic Isaia, sic Josue officium scriptoris iungitur*: explained in Isai. xxx, 8, and Josue viii, 32, with Deut. xxvii, 18.
- 109:9-11 *In vestimento et in femore scriptum habet Rex regum et Dominus dominantium*: quoted from Apoc. xix, 16.
- 109:21 *qui ad justitiam erudiunt multos . . . quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates*: quoted from Dan. xii, 3.
- 110:18 *Sapientiam scribe in tempore vacuitatis*: from *sapientia scribae in tempore vacuitatis*, Eccli. xxxviii, 25. The marked change of sense from *sapientia scribae* in the Vulgate into *sapientiam scribe* in the Philobiblon is capable of explanation. *scribe* in a MS. of the Vulgate would stand for *scribe* or *scribae* indifferently, and *sapientiā* (= *sapientiam*) would differ from *sapientia* only by the slight dash over the final *a*. De Bury may have read in his Vulgate MS. *sapientiā scribe*, and quoted it without knowing he was changing the sense.

SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER

- 112:5 *Deo praeſtamus obsequium*: from *arbitretur obsequium se praeſtare Deo*, Joan. xvi, 2.
- 114:10 *reliquias fragmentorum*: from *sustulerunt reliquias fragmentorum*, Marc. vi, 43.
- 114:19 *Jam imber abiit et recessit et flores apparuerunt in terra nostra*: from Cant. ii, 11, 12.
- 116:11 *signacula libri solvat*: from Apoc. v, 2.

Vulgate References in the Text.

- 116:21 *qui ingreditur sine macula*: from Ps. xiv, 2.
- 117:10 *Moyses mitissimus*: from Num. xii, 3.
- 117:11 *Tollite . . . librum istum et ponite illum in latere arcæ fœderis Domini Dei vestri*: quoted from Deut. xxxi, 26.
- 117:14 *lignis Setim*: Compare Exod. xxv, 10. *imputribilibus*: Compare *forte lignum et imputribile*, Isai. xl, 20. *auroque per totum interius et exterius circumtecta*: Compare *arcam testamenti circumtectam ex omni parte auro*, Hebr. ix, 4.
- 117:20-22 *librum ministro restituit . . . plicuisset*: from *cum plicuisset librum, reddidit ministro*, Luc. iv, 20.
- EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER
- 118:6 *Nihil iniquius*: Compare Eccli. x, 10.
- 118:12 *Oculo simplici*: Compare Matth. vi, 22.
- 118:13 *sinistra dextræ*: Compare Matth. vi, 3. *fermento massa corrumpitur*: from I Cor. v, 6, or Gal. v, 9.
- 118:14 *vestis ex lino lanaque contextitur*: from *vestimento quod ex lana linoque contextum est*, Deut. xxii, 11.
- 119:11 *renes et corda pertinet perscrutari*: from *scrutans corda et renes Deus*, Ps. vii, 10.
- 119:13 *Deo pateat cordium inspector*: Compare *qui inspector est cordis, ipse intelligit*, Prov. xxiv, 12.
- 121:15-16 *trabes gestantes in oculis . . . alienas festucas*: from Matth. vii, 3-5.
- NINETEENTH CHAPTER
- No trace of the Vulgate.
- TWENTIETH CHAPTER
- 126:13 *respergatur pulvere* may be from *pulvere vos conspergitis*, Mich. i, 10.
- 126:18 *cum omnia fecerimus, servos nos inutiles*: from Luc. xvii, 10.
- 127:2 *sua opera omnia verebatur*: from Job ix, 28.
- 127:3 *quasi pannus menstruatus omnes justitiæ nostræ*: from Isai. lxiv, 6.
- 128:19 *desideret dissolvi et esse cum Christo*: from Phil. i, 23.
- 128:21 *conversemur*: Compare *nostra autem conversatio in cælis est*, Phil. iii, 20.
- 128:21 *Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis*: quoted from II Cor. i, 3.
- 129:1 *de siliquis*: from Luc. xv, 16.

The Philobiblon of Richard de Bury.

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| <p>129:2 <i>drachmam . . . repertam</i> : <i>quisque propria corporis, prout</i> from Luc. xv, 8, 9. <i>gessit</i> : II Cor. v, 10.</p> | |
| <p>129:6 <i>Leviathan serpens vetus</i> : Compare <i>Leviathan serpentem</i>, Isai. xxvii, 1, and <i>serpens anti-</i> <i>quus</i>, Rev. xii, 9.</p> | <p>129:12 <i>figmentum</i> : Compare Ps. cii, 14.</p> |
| <p>129:7 <i>ad terrendum tribunal</i> . . . <i>ut cuncta quæ corpore gessi-</i> <i>mus . . . referamus</i> : from <i>ante</i> <i>tribunal Christi, ut referat unus-</i></p> | <p>130:3 <i>in abyssum</i> : Compare Apoc. xx, 3.</p> <p>130:11 <i>ad imaginem Trinitatis</i> <i>creatum</i> : Compare Gen. i, 27.</p> |





Appendices

Adam of Murimuth's Chronicle



NE object of the *Philobiblon* is expressly stated in the prologue to be the vindication of its author against unjust aspersions on his character and conduct by his contemporaries, and much of the eighteenth chapter is spent in this vindication.

His love for books, he tells us, exposed him "to the condemnation of many." "We were thought ill of, now for our superfluity of curiosity, now for greediness in material things, now for our appearance of vanity, and still again were we censured for the intemperateness of our love for letters." His contempt for his slanderers and his appeal to the Searcher of Hearts in his own defense are both marked with a tone of deep sincerity.

We need not, then, be surprised to find in a contemporary chronicler reflections of this scandalous talk against him. Such a passage occurs in Adam of Murimuth's *Chronica Sui Temporis*:

Hoc anno xiiij die Maii, anno Domini M^oCCCXLV^o, regni vero dicti regis E. tertii a conquesto decimo nono, obiit Ricardus de Bury, episcopus Dunelmensis, qui ipsum episcopatum et omnia sua beneficia prius habita per preces magnatum et ambitionis vitium adquisiivit, et ideo toto tempore suo inopia laboravit et prodigus exstitit in expensis, unde dies suos

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in gravissima paupertate finivit. Imminente vero termino vitæ suæ, sui familiares omnia bona sua mobilia rapuerunt, adeo quod moriens, unde corpus suum cooperire poterat non habebat, nisi subtunicam unius garcionis in camera remanentia. Et, licet idem episcopus fuisset mediocriter literatus, volens tamen magnus clericus reputari, recollegit sibi librorum numerum infinitum, tam de dono quam ex accommodato a diversis monasteriis et ex empto, adeo quod quinque magnæ caractæ non sufficiebant pro ipsius vectura librorum.

This biographic summary contains in disagreeable form much of what stirred Richard to indignation, and more besides. The charge of "greediness in material things" answers to Adam of Murimuth's first count, and the "appearance of vanity" and "intemperateness" of his love for books to *volens magnus clericus reputari, recollegit sibi librorum numerum infinitum*. One thing which Richard resented, his "superfluity of curiosity," is not mentioned. It was the mildest of his supposed follies, and was noted by Petrarch, though in no slanderous way. Other things in Adam of Murimuth's statement are plainly overdrawn, for Richard did not get all his promotions *per preces magnatum et ambitionis vitium*, nor is it true that he was hard pressed by want *toto tempore suo*. That he was in such desperate straits as to spend his closing days in *gravissima paupertate* has no proof outside this statement and looks like an exaggeration. As for the rest, it is hard to believe that men of such excellence as were his familiar friends stole everything they could lay their hands on, so that he had nothing of his own left to cover him as he lay dying, and the accusation agrees but ill with De Chambre's sober chronicle, which states that after Richard's death one of his chests was found *plena lintheamentis camisiis et braccis cilicinis*. There is also a minor inaccuracy in the date. Richard did not die in May, but in April.

The whole account is pointedly unfriendly and has a hearsay look. If these were the characteristic traits in De Bury why do

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they not appear in De Chambre's full chronicle ? I see no reason for thinking Adam of Murimuth's statement anything else than a piece of scandal told in an unfriendly way. As it contains the very slanders which De Bury denounced, and is without external proof to support it, and can be explained as an exaggeration or perversion of known facts, it should be set aside and discredited as it deserves.

De Bury as a Book Collector

THE eighth chapter of the *Philobiblon* tells the full story of Richard's book collecting. That he used his wealth and high official powers to their utmost is clear. His methods of acquisition were by gift, sale, and temporary loan in order that he might have copies made (see end of eighteenth chapter). His books came from monastery and university libraries, from booksellers and private owners, and were increased in number by the "no small multitude" of copyists which he kept in his employ. Much of his money he spent in Paris, which he must have visited many times. It was his favourite city. He was there in 1325, and stopped off on his journeys between England and Avignon, and made other later visits. "There, indeed," he writes, "did we open out our treasures and loosen our purse-strings, and, scattering money with a glad heart, purchased priceless books with dirt and sand." Not only in France were his books bought, but in the Low Countries and Italy as well.

One of his English acquisitions has been recorded. In 1335, Wallingford, the Abbot of St. Albans, partly presented and partly sold to him from the library of that monastery four books, Terence, Virgil, Quintilian, and Jerome against Rufinus, with

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thirty-two other volumes, valued at fifty pounds of silver! This is, of course, one of Richard's "noblest monasteries." His copy of his favourite John of Salisbury came from this library, probably at this time, and was bought back by the monastery shortly after his death from his executors.¹ From the same monastery he obtained a copy of Anselm, which he restored later. It is now in the Bodleian.² These two are the only books of De Bury's which are known to have been preserved to the present time.³

The Seals of Richard de Bury

THE destruction of the four silver seals after De Bury's death is mentioned elsewhere (p. 24). Impressions of three of them remain, but none of the fourth has been discovered. The smallest is his legal seal, "*ad causas*," and the other two are ecclesiastical. They were all made after he became bishop. The seal "*ad causas*" is numbered *liv*, 76, in the British Museum, the smaller and earlier of the two episcopal seals is marked *lv*, 75, and the larger one *xlvi*, 234. Which seal he used in delivering the Great Seal to the King in 1335 "*in quadam bursa sigillo*

¹ See *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Dunelm.* p. xxix, Surtees Society's Publications, 1838.

The MS. of John of Salisbury has the entry: *Hunc librum fecit dominus Symon Abbas S. Albani, quem postea vendit domino Ricardo de Bury Episcopo Dunelmensi emit Michael Abbas S. Albani ab executoribus predicti episcopi, A. D. 1346.* It is in the British Museum, Royal 13, D. iv.

² MS. Laud Misc. 363 of the twelfth century. An entry on fol. 3, perhaps as late as 1250, reads: *Hic est liber sancti Albani quem qui ei abstulerit*

vel titulum deleverit anathema sit. Amen. Then on fol. 2v in a late fourteenth century hand: *Hunc librum dedit Dominus Ricardus de bury Episcopus Dunelmensis Domui sancti Albani.*

³ The statement in Parker's Handbook for Oxford (ed. 1875, p. 215) that the Bodleian MS. 198, which contains a copy of Gregory's *Moralia*, was one of De Bury's books is incorrect and is due to an error in Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope* (1772, pp. 392-3), where he writes *Durham College for Lincoln College.*



Richard de Bury's earlier Episcopal Seal, with conventionalized figure of the bishop. See page 156.

The legend is SIGILLVM RICARDI DEI GRA DVNELMENSIS EPI.

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ipsius episcopi consignata"¹ is not perfectly clear. The larger of the two episcopal seals is the one of real interest because of its containing our only portrait of De Bury. The other episcopal seal has a conventional figure meant for the bishop, but its "archaic smile" shows it to be no portrait. The larger seal is fully described and engraved in *Archæologia*, XXVII, pp. 401-402. Thomas prints this engraving in his edition of the *Philobiblon*. But the engraving was a bad reproduction of the seal, De Bury's figure being especially poor. It made him an ascetic looking old man, with his drapery different than in the seal. I therefore had an impression photographed on copper by Pretorius at the British Museum, along with the other two. They appear facing the title page and pages 156 and 158 respectively.

Copies of Early Editions

THE Bodleian and the British Museum are the only places, so far as I know, where every edition of the *Philobiblon* is to be found, the Bodleian alone possessing a copy of the Oxford edition of 1598-9 dated 1598. In America there are copies known to me of all the editions except 1500, 1610, and 1614.

The first four editions (1473, 1483, 1500, 1598-9) have special interest to book-lovers. I therefore mention the copies of whose existence I have been able to learn :

I. *Cologne Edition of 1473*. Two copies are in the British Museum, one in the Bodleian, and one at the Bibliothèque Nationale,² Paris. Single private copies belong to Earl Spencer, Mr. W. Amherst T. Amherst, Mr. Sam. Timmins, and Mr. Bernard Quaritch in England. The late Mr. Hamilton Cole of New-York also owned a copy.

¹ Rymer II, ii, 909.

there, one of them defective. Ed. of

² Cocheris in 1856 reported two copies *Philobiblon*, p. xxii.

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II. *Spires Edition of 1483.* This is apparently scarcer than the *editio princeps*. There is one copy in the British Museum, one at the Bodleian, but no copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Single private copies belong in England to Mr. Sam. Timmins and Mr. Bernard Quaritch. One other is mentioned by Thomas as having been bought "at the Williams sale." In this country there are two copies in New-York, one in the library of the late Mr. Hamilton Cole and another belonging to Dr. W. R. Gillette.

III. *Paris Edition of 1500.* This seems to me the rarest of all. The Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris has no copy of it. There is one at the British Museum and one at the Bodleian.

IV. Copies of the *Oxford Edition of 1598-9* are fairly abundant. There are three in the British Museum, including James's presentation copy to Lord Lumley, two at the Bodleian, and one at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Mr. Hamilton Cole's library contains a copy, and there is another in the library of Harvard University.

Typography of this Edition

IN response to a request of mine, Mr. Theodore L. De Vinne writes:

"The black-letter types for the first volume of *Philobiblon* were cast in the foundry of Sir Charles Reed's Sons, London, from matrices of great age. The punches for these matrices were probably cut in Rouen, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. They have the peculiarities of the French black letter of that time. Mr. Talbot Baines Reed, the author of the valuable *History of Old English Type Foundries*, kindly got them out of the vault where they had remained in disuse for a long time, and fitted them up for this edition of the book. I selected this cut of letter in preference to the Caxton black, because I



Richard de Bury's Seal "*ad causas*." See page 156.
The legend is [S.] RICARDI DVNELMENSIS EPI. AD CAVSAS.

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adjudged it more truly Norman French, or Norman English, than the Caxton black (which has decided Flemish peculiarities), believing that the letter used by De Bury was Norman French, and not at all Saxon, Flemish, or Celtic.

"The illuminated capitals are of a later period. I could not find good models for initial letters of the thirteenth century free from the Irish-Celtic interlacings, which I wanted to avoid. The backgrounds or fields of the initials are of approved mediæval and ecclesiastic forms. These initials were drawn by Mr. James West, of London, after studies from originals in the British Museum. The broad black bands which divide the chapters, as well as the chapter ornaments, and the smaller head-bands for the second volume, are from the same designer. The larger head-bands are the designs of Mr. Charles M. Jenckes, now of Portland, Maine, and Mr. George Wharton Edwards, of this city. The line endings are from French, German, and American type-foundries.

"The paper of the book is from the mill of Messrs. L. L. Brown & Co., North Adams, Massachusetts. The inside linings of the binding are adaptations of ecclesiastical designs shown in Audsley's *Outlines of Ornament*. The binding in parchment was done by our fellow member, Mr. William Matthews."

Mr. Thomas's Edition of the *Philobiblon*

THE thirteenth edition of the *Philobiblon*, edited and newly translated by Mr. Ernest C. Thomas, was published in London by Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. at the close of 1888. A copy of it reached me after the first volume of this edition was in type and parts of the other two volumes were written. It contains the Latin text with annotations and a translation, as well as a biographical and bibliographical introduction. Its text

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is based on a study of the same manuscripts as are used for this edition.

Mr. Thomas's edition embodies the results of much diligent labour, and deserves the credit of being the first in which a Latin text appears which approximates what De Bury wrote. There are also marked advances in interpretation, including the solution of several obstinate puzzles. The chronicle of De Bury's life and the account of the printed editions are also full and accurate.

Notwithstanding these very substantial contributions to our knowledge of the Philobiblon, the edition is open to serious criticism. Without going into elaborate details, the following observations will indicate where its defects lie :

I. As to the text :

(1) Mr. Thomas constructs his text without making any proper attempt to ascertain the relative value of the various manuscripts which constitute the basis of the text. For want of such a classification he fails to produce any proof as to where the true text is to be found, or to account for the origin of the corrupted text of the printed editions. For the same reason he fails to say why the four manuscripts he has used as the basis of his collation deserve to be selected above others, or selected at all, or why they should be assigned the relative value he sets upon them separately. I quite agree with Mr. Thomas as to the need of collating the two Paris MSS. (15168 and 3352c) which Cocheris professed to collate accurately, supposing them to be of the fourteenth century. But why does Mr. Thomas mark them as the best (his A and B) ? They in no way merit such a rating, either in point of antiquity or on the ground of the completeness and excellence of their text. The Digby MS. 147 at Oxford is marked D by Mr. Thomas. Why ? Its text is as good as his B at any rate, and, moreover, is certainly of the fourteenth century. But why mark it D rather than C ? Last of all, Mr.

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Thomas takes the Royal MS. 8. F. XIV of the British Museum, which is superior to any of the others in point of its text and equaled in antiquity by the Digby MS. alone, and marks it E. Why he does so we are nowhere informed.

The facts are that Mr. Thomas based his collation primarily on the two Paris MSS., supposing them to be "of first-rate importance,"¹ and to be two of three fourteenth century MSS., the other being the Digby MS. 147. Mr. Thomas wrote in 1885, "In the text I am about to publish, I propose, of course, except where necessary, to follow the earlier MSS."² Now if we turn to his edition (p. lxxii) and read his account of the two Paris MSS., we find this scanty statement: "Both these MSS., which I have called respectively A and B, present a fairly good text. M. Léopold Delisle is of opinion that they may have been written between 1375 and 1400, but Mr. E. M. Thompson thinks that they are not earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth century." Why, then, does Mr. Thomas, who proposes "to follow the earlier MSS.," continue to rate these two as the best, when by his own later statement their fourteenth century date is uncertain? He does not tell us. Their "fairly good text" is too vaguely put to be a satisfactory explanation. His account of his fourth MS. (Royal MS. 8. F. XIV), which was unknown to Mr. Thomas until after his text had been constructed from the other three, is also meager and disappointing (pp. lxvi and lxxviii). He records it as a fourteenth century MS. but gives not a word of explanation for his course in marking it E, or inferior to both Paris MSS. and the Digby MS. also.

If we now turn to the account of the MSS. as a whole (pp. lxxv-lxxix) it will be found quite unsatisfactory. Most of the MSS. are not described to any further extent than would serve for a catalogue entry. In some instances their dates are given

¹ See Mr. Thomas's article on "The The Library Chronicle, Oct.-Nov., Manuscripts of the Philobiblon," in 1885, p. 131.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

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loosely, as "the not very early fifteenth century" in one case (p. lxxi), or "the fifteenth century" in several instances where the date is much more definitely known. The date of the Bamberg MS. is left unmentioned (p. lxxiii) and that of the Balliol MS. CCXLIII, which is 1390-1400, is carelessly stated to be "the fifteenth century" (p. lxviii).

(2) The collation of the four MSS. which Mr. Thomas has made does not come up to the editor's statement that he has "recorded all the important variants" (p. lxxviii), for he fails to print any notice of many of them. For example, the following lacunæ in the two Paris MSS. are unnoticed:

In Mr. Thomas's A: *et doctis* 53,¹ *quæque Zoroastes germanus ejusdem immundorum* 58, *et nolens* 60, *et Donati* 79, *regerent vel earum rectores studere sapientie* 97, *suavitate peroret aut Moysi balbutiem* 99, *sic est dictum* 101, *de quo Actuum octavo narratur* 105, *quam ex rectæ rationis arbitrio cujus* 121.

In Mr. Thomas's B: *in aurora clarissima* 12, *aliorum labores intratis aliorum studia recitatis* 53, *et cistule solvebantur* 64, *Ipsum tandem firmamentum supremum* 103.

If such as these are not "important variants," what are? They impair directly the textual completeness of the two MSS. he marks as the best, and ought to have been noticed. There are many lesser instances of the same sort.

The selected readings printed below Mr. Thomas's text are also open to criticism. Many of them have no value whatever for the construction of the text, and many more are very confusing. It is often impossible to tell what is intended to be represented as the MSS. consensus and what as the variants. A few instances may be cited. In § 13 of his text "*Philobiblon*" appears, and below it is the same form as a variant. In § 43 "*valent*" is in the text, "*valent*" as the variant, and an explana-

¹ See corresponding page in first volume of this edition.

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tory note on "*valet*" completes the treatment. In § 54 "*balatus*" is in the text with all four MSS. against it — the variants being "*valatus* AB, *vallatus* CD." The true reading is *vallatus*, based on the Vulgate *angustia vallabit eum*, Job xv, 24. On what does *balatus* rest ?

(3) The text itself has some singular infelicities. In every MS. which contains the complete text, the opening order is as follows: prologue, with collected list of chapter titles immediately following, then the first chapter, and so on. Mr. Thomas takes the collected list of titles out of its place and prints it first, then a table of abbreviations used in his edition, then the prologue with no chapter titles at the end, and then the first chapter — an order found nowhere else. Moreover, the two sets of chapter titles do not always pair, as they ought to do (see chapters XII, XIV, XVI, XIX).

These instances are sufficient to indicate that what Mr. Thomas's text suffers from is the lack of a sound method in its construction. Despite the editor's ingenuity and painstaking, his text is made too often by rule of thumb instead of according to textual canons, and the inevitable result of this is crudeness. The number of real errors in Thomas's text is not inconsiderable, and the proof-reading has left still others.

II. *As to the Translation:*

This is sometimes wrong because his text is wrong. Thus in § 54 *fit balatus angustiis undique* yields "in his strait is heard on every side the wailing appeal to us," and in § 56 *dum forum transfertur a laico* is rendered "the forum being transferred from the laity," — whatever that may mean. Sometimes it is wrong from simple mistranslation. *Non cujuslibet, imo scripturæ* in § 34 becomes "and indeed of written truth." Significant words are occasionally ignored altogether, as *duplicibus* in § 46 and *an-tonomaticæ* in § 48. Sometimes a whole clause is omitted, as

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et gloria nostra in pulverem est deducta, § 62, and *si Demosthenis suavitate peroret*, § 191. Scriptural references in the text are often overlooked or distorted in the translation. In general, however, it seems to have been diligently wrought out. Its faults are defects rather than excesses, especially in point of style, where it seems to me very cramped and at times lifeless.

III. *As to the Explanatory Foot-notes :*

Much of Mr. Thomas's best work is here. He has cleared up many troublesome places — not the least of them being *assub*, *gensahar*, and *filius inconstantie*. But the mark of crudity or inaccuracy appears only too frequently. The Vulgate references are very misleading, being the Latin text with the English place of reference added. Thus after *cherubin* (§ 17) "I Kings vi, 27," is added. This is the Vulgate III Reg. vi, 27. In § 29 *limpidissimi lapides* is followed by "I Kings xvii, 40." This ought to be I Reg. xvii, 40. Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus are so presented at times as to be indistinguishable. Moreover many of the references are wrong. Take those in the prologue only. "Ps. cxvi, 12," ought to be Ps. cxv, 12; "Is. xi, 23," means Isai. xi, 2 and 3; *viam sine impedimento* (under foot-note *impedibilem*) ought to be *via sine impedimento*; after *bonam voluntatem*, it is unnecessary to have "Phil. i, 15," as the second quotation, "ii, 13," covers the whole passage, whereas "Phil. i, 15," covers only the two words cited. Under *non ponantur*, besides the reference to "Matt. v, 15," there should be added Matth. xxv, 8; under *succiditur* "Job iii, 6," should be Job vii, 6, and "Is. xxxviii, 12," has so slight a value as to be useless. This runs throughout the book. Many references are wrong, some are irrelevant, and over forty perfectly plain Vulgate texts, and others nearly as obvious, are unnoticed. In the other notes a similar state of things prevails. Aristotle is sometimes cited with the reference wrong, and is sometimes left unquoted where reference is necessary. Some of the notes are defective

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or inaccurate, for example, those on *antonomaticæ*, *cherubicis libris*, *vispilionis*, *filia virgo* (§ 108), *sublunari*, *auges*, *ostensivis*, *tabulationibus*, *similiter* (§ 198), *comprehensor*, and *inculpandos*.

Professor Morley and the Philobiblon

PROFESSOR HENRY MORLEY'S pleasant account of the Philobiblon in the fourth volume of his *English Writers* (London, 1889) is marred by an inaccurate and very defective note (p. 55) which attempts to enumerate the manuscripts and printed editions. Only five manuscripts are separately specified. The others are said to be in "a few churches in England" or "upon the Continent." Unless we count the Durham MS., which Professor Morley mentions, there is no manuscript, so far as I can learn, in any "church in England." The printed editions fare as badly. The one indivisible Paris edition of 1500 is split into two editions. The next, or Oxford edition of 1599, is consequently styled the "fifth" edition, whereas it is the fourth. The Goldast series of 1610, 1614, 1674, and 1703 is unmentioned; and, finally, Cocheris is said to have "collated" his edition of 1856 from his three manuscripts, when he did nothing of the sort.



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Corrigenda

(Exclusive of some infelicities in punctuation and the use of capitals.)

I. In the First Volume.

Page

- 7: 4 and 5, Read *manerium* and *dilapidatum*.
11: marg. note ¹, Read *in culto* B D.
21: 1, " *cachinnos*.
22: 2, " *lampadas*.
23: 15, " *particula tricesima*.
26: 4, " *circumstantia*, Shift the comma after *necessariis* to follow *indigentis*.
34: 4, " *Camenæ*.
42: 13, " *propriæ*.
46: marg. note ⁵, Add *et om. reverendi*.
51: 10, Begin sentence with *corvum*. No paragraph at *Danielem*, below it.
53: 11, Read *connodatis. Aliorum* etc.
57: marg. note ⁹, Change to read *secundo codd.* Whether to change *primo* in the text to *secundo* is hard to decide. See Explanatory Notes.
57: 11, Read *Diomedonte*.
59: 1, " *quæ* for *quem*.
59: 7, " *Ægyptiorum*.
66: 14, " *terræ motu*.
66: 21, " *genzahar* for *Geneachar*.
70: marg. note ³, Strike out period after *idem*.
78: 10, Read *Megarensis* for *Megaritis*.

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- 99 : 12, Read *perfecte. Si linguis* etc.
101 : 8, " *quingagesima quarta.*
101 : 18, " *Mammonæ.*
109 : 22, Omit *erunt.*
110 : 18, Read *octavo* for *octo.*
131 : Make the colophon end *feliciter et Amen.*

II. In the Second Volume.

- 23 : 13, Read "by" for "in."
26 : 3, Read "backs and bellies" for "material parts." See Morley's Eng. Writers IV, 56. "Backs and bellies of books to be books" is the best I can suggest for the word-plays in the Latin.
27 : 8, Read "according" for "next."
36 : 19, Strike out "a."
55 : 18, Read "which" for "whom."
63 : 22, Read "also what" for "whom also."
85 : 22, I made a singular slip in translating *debile* "right," instead of "weak." Correct by striking out "the right foundation of," and adding "on a weak foundation" after "tottering building" on p. 86 : 1.
89 : 14, "The symbols of knowledge were furnished men one by one" should be changed to "each added his contribution in turn."
117 : 17, Read "Ecclesiastes" for "Ecclesiasticus."
121 : 7, " "emperors" for "commanders."
122 : 21, " "his practice throughout" for "the practice thereafter."
138 : 21, Insert "be" before "written in its place."



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A PAIR of Arabic numbers joined by a colon indicates the page and line of the Latin text in the first volume, and often a corresponding Explanatory Note (vol. III, pp. 102-135). A "V" added indicates a Vulgate reference, (vol. III, pp. 136-152). The first number of the pair also has a corresponding marginal number in the second volume. The references to the third volume begin with a III.

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